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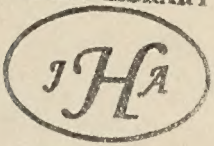

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Thirteen Articles...

—ON—

.... Freemasonry.

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By ERNEST R. HULL, S. J.

EDITOR OF

THE EXAMINER.

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THIRTEEN ARTICLES ON FREEMASONRY.

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PREFACE.

THE first of these articles was published by itself in 1906 as a one-anna tract. Subsequent editions with fresh matter were made till the number of articles reached seven. Then it grew to thirteen, and assumed the size of a booklet. The new portions dealt specially with the anti-religious character of Continental Freemasonry; but the most important feature lay in an account of the various public exposures of Freemasonry which have occurred in recent years, resulting in its practical discredit not only among Catholics, but also in the eyes of the outside world. The Catholic Church no longer stands alone in its denunciations of the Masonic craft. Its condemnation is now confirmed by Governments and political leaders, who find in Masonry not only a danger to religion, but also a menace to the State, and an injury to the commonwealth. If there exist any Catholics hitherto unconvinced of the justice of the Church's verdict, they will now find their doubts removed by this impartial and independent witness from without.

The exposures referred to have most of them been published in THE EXAMINER as they occurred, but in a scattered form ; so it will be useful to enumerate them here.

(1) The recognition that Freemasonry in France, while professing to be a harmless philanthropic body, is really a pernicious meddler in political affairs, and has been convicted of systematic espionage, invidious patronage, domineering dictation to public officials, and interference with liberty and fair play in deparments of public service.

(2) The recognition in Belgium and Italy that Masonic membership is a menace to official integrity in the Army and Navy—and that the secret methods of the craft are detrimental to public life and unsuited to this modern age.

(3) An official refusal to recognise the Order in Argentina because its principles were found baneful to the well-being of the commonwealth.

(4) The recognition of the fact that Freemasonry has been at the back of the anti-religious and revolutionary mischief in most countries of Europe, e. g. in France, Portugal, Hungary and even Turkey.

(5) One further instance from Italy just emerges while this book is passing through the Press. *The Tablet*, (Feb. 24, 1923) writes :—

" The Grand Fascist Council has declared that you cannot be a Freemason and a Fascist. If you want to be a Fascist you must drop Freemasonry ; if you don't, Fascism will drop you. The main thing on which it prides itself is its work in the light of day ; Freemasonry is a secret society and double allegiance is impossible. Moreover, there is the complete divergence of policy regarding the Catholic religion. Both the rites here, Grand Orient and Ancient Scottish, are banned, though the latter are trying to excuse themselves and maintain the connection declared impossible. The determination is generally welcomed ; Freemasonry is not popular. The Grand Orient has taken it in silence, and is understood to be deliberating, having been disappointed in their attempt to nobble the movement, how to maintain influence in it in spite of the ban. And, indeed, history shows how difficult it is to keep the secretly infiltrating poison out. In any case let full credit be given to Signor Mussolini. The *Osservatore*

Romano gives this credit fully, while fearing that the craft will still manage to create difficulties. The *Corriere d'Italia* for the Popular Party is jubilant and takes credit to itself for its long campaign, but in the department of politicians and their newspapers the patient reader will give the palm of credit for sustained showing up of Freemasonry to the Nationalists and the *Idea Nazionale*; their attack on it being, of course, on the ground of its being a danger to the State as well as an enemy to religion, the two things indeed running very much--sometimes too much--together in their minds."

The evidence of these different statements, drawn from contemporary sources, is embodied in the enlarged reprint and forms, we consider, the most valuable part of its contents.

To this we have added several solutions of practical questions; as for example, the attendance of Catholics at Masonic concerts and balls, etc.

ERNEST R. HULL, S. J.

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Bombay, February 28th 1923.

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THE EXAMINER is read all over India, and is well-known in England, America and other English-speaking countries.

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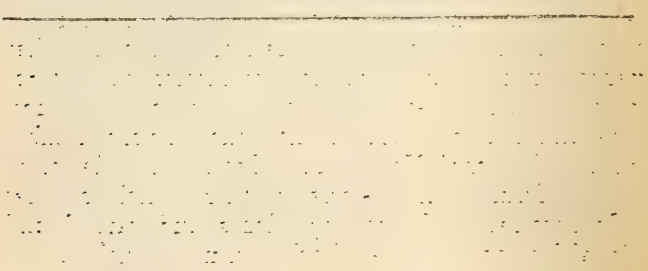

I

WHAT ABOUT FREEMASONRY?

(Examiner, Sept. 29th, 1906.)

During the year 1906, a discussion regarding the Masonic laying of a foundation-stone in Bombay gave rise to no small amount of inquiry, both among outsiders and among ourselves, as to the precise reasons why Catholics take up the position they do with regard to the Freemasonic Order. Circumstances did not allow of anything like an elaborate treatment of what was really a large subject; but the following observations, published in The Examiner at the time, were intended to put forward, as moderately and uncontroversially as possible, the Catholic view and the reasons which lie at the back of it:—

Our object is not to try and make out the worst possible case against Freemasonry, by raking up all those most extraordinary charges which, rightly or wrongly, have been raised against it. On the contrary we confine ourselves to essential and constitutional points about which, so far as we know, there can be no dispute.

We begin with a few facts about Freemasonry:—

(1) *Masonry is a religious Society;* that is, a Society holding a certain theological position. This is clearly seen by its principal tenet, viz., the official acknowledgment and worship of the Architect of the Universe. Mackey says:—"All the ceremonies of our Order are prefaced and terminate with prayer, because Masonry is a religious institution." (Lexicon of Freemasonry, Art. Prayer; p. 369). George Oliver speaks of Masonry as "a Society founded on the basis

of religion." (Antiq. Preface). "In 1878 the Grand Lodge refused to recognise the Grand Orient owing to its excluding belief in the Great Architect of the Universe, the most important land-mark of Freemasonry." (Cowen, p. 276).

(2) *The religion of Freemasonry is called pure Theism.*—Mackey writes :—"The religion of Masonry is pure Theism, on which its different members graft their own peculiar opinions, but they are not permitted to introduce them into the Lodge or to connect their truth or falsehood with the truth of Masonry." (Lexicon Art. Religion).

(3) *Freemasonry claims to be a universal religion.*—Mackey writes :—"Masonry is undoubtedly a religious institution—its religion being of that universal kind in which all men agree ; and which...embraces the existence of God, the immortality of the soul." (Masonic Jurisprudence, p. 95).

(4) *Freemasonry claims to be a perfect and all-sufficing religion.*—Sickels writes regarding the third degree :—"We now find a man complete in morality and intelligence, with a state of religion added to ensure him the protection of the deity and to guard him from going astray. These three degrees thus form a perfect and harmonious whole ; nor can we conceive that anything more can be suggested which the soul of man requires." (Freemason's Monitor, pp. 97-98).

(5) *Being a perfect and adequate religion, Freemasonry regards all other forms of religion as of no vital importance.*—Thus, the Charges of a Mason tell us that "Though in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country or nation, whatever it was ; yet it is now thought more ex-

pedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves—that is, to be *good men and true*, or men of honour and honesty," etc. (Pocket Companion, Third edition. London, 1764). The modern Charge runs as follows:—"Let a man's religion or worship be what it may, he is not excluded from the Order, provided he believes in the great Architect of heaven and earth, and practices the sacred duties of morality. Masons unite with the virtuous of every persuasion in the firm and pleasing bond of fraternal love. They are taught to view the errors of mankind with compassion, and to strive by the purity of their own conduct to demonstrate the superiority of the faith they may possess." (Constitutions, Edition of 1867). "Masons say without hesitation that the man who lives up to his Masonic obligations is sure of heaven. Or as they more frequently put it: 'Masonry is good enough religion for me.'" (Blanchard).

FIRST OBJECTION: HETERODOXY.

These citations are sufficient to indicate that Masonry takes up a definite theological position, including only the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the laws of morality (Theism or Deism) and by implication excluding or disregarding all other tenets. Now Theism is all very well as far as it goes, in the absence of a fuller religion. But to set up Theism as a sufficient or adequate religion is tantamount to a rejection of Christianity. If Christianity is true, there can be no indifference regarding it. "He that is not for me is against me," said Christ our Lord; and it cannot be held that Freemasonry is *for* Christ. By ignoring Christ it is against him at least negatively; and by maintaining indifference as a principle it is positively against him.

If Freemasonry were a purely secular body—for instance a literary and social club, or a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, or for the suppression of the slave trade—it would escape the objection now raised against it. But as soon as it enters into the field of religion, and takes up a theological position of its own—claiming certain theistic doctrines as religiously sufficient—it immediately becomes a rival and a substitute for other forms of religion, and therefore by implication hostile to them and incompatible with them.

All this involves the conclusion that Freemasonry is a "sect." A correspondent in the *Times of India* argued recently that "Freemasonry was unsectarian just because it was so comprehensive as to admit men of all sects and creeds." This writer overlooks the fact that comprehensiveness or unsectarianism, if elevated into a positive principle, becomes sectarian.* To regard as indifferent what other religious bodies regard as vital, becomes part of its theology—and therefore one of its tenets as a sect. In the mind of all Catholics this is clear enough. No Catholic could join a religious body which makes it a matter of indifference whether he is a Catholic or not. But with regard to Christians generally it ought to be equally clear. For no Christian ought, consistently with his own belief, to be able to join a religious body which professedly makes it a matter of religious indifference whether he believes in Christianity or not; and which openly expresses this indifference, in its Indian Lodges, by appointing, side by side with the Great Bible Bearer, a Great Koran Bearer and Great Avesta Bearer.

* Thus it has been generally acknowledged, even among Protestants themselves, that "Birreligion," or the position of the Nonconformists in the Education question, is sectarian. A sect is formed not merely by what tenets it includes, but also by what tenets it excludes or implicitly rejects.

Now a corporate body which takes up a theological position such as neither Catholics nor Christians in general can consistently accept, certainly embodies all the essential characteristics of a sectarian society. Therefore, because of its maintenance of Theism as a *sufficient* religion, and its profession of indifference regarding more specific beliefs, Freemasonry fails entirely to repel the charge of being a sect.

SECOND OBJECTION: SECRECY.

The first thing one asks before deciding to join any corporate body is this:—What is the aim and object for which it exists? No man can reasonably lend himself to the support of a Society unless he knows what he is promoting thereby. The first business of any Society is therefore to make its aims and methods known in such fulness as to secure the confidence of the public, and their intelligent co-operation. There are Societies devoted to certain secret aims which are known to its members alone. These are Secret Societies only in a wider sense, since they possess no secret as regards the members, but only as regards the outside public. An individual who is first let into the secret is able to judge whether its aims and objects are licit or not, and can join or not join accordingly. A Secret Society of this kind will always be regarded with suspicion by the uninitiated; but still, if its aims are good, there seems to be, within certain limits, no objection to being a member of it—simply because each member knows the programme which lies before him. But there is another kind of Secret Society in which the aims and methods are reserved to the knowledge of a certain inner circle, outside which lie other circles of members, each initiated in some degree, the lowest being practically uninitiated altogether. Thus in varying de-

grees, each grade of members remains in the dark, and each becomes therefore the blind or half-blind tool of those who are in possession of the full secret. Now, even supposing the secret aims of such a Society are good or harmless in themselves; still the position of the lower and uninitiated members is an irrational one, such as any self-respecting man ought to decline.

But the existence of an inner secret is also open to objection on more serious grounds. From the nature of the case it is impossible to ascertain whether the secret aims of the Society are good or bad; and thus it remains always possible that the lower members are unknowingly giving themselves to the support of schemes which, if known, would cause them immediately to resign. It is true that the uninitiated or half-initiated members cannot be made to take a direct and active part in the wickedness of the secret clique, should their designs be evil. But by their subscriptions, by the weight of rank or numbers, they are nevertheless serving the hidden cause. Now it is not enough that these lower members fail to discover anything which makes their conscience revolt. Sound morality requires more; it demands that a man should not lend himself blindly to schemes, the nature of which is concealed from him—and which may, so far as he knows, be either good or bad.

No one, we think, will deny that Freemasonry is a Secret Society in the sense just described. The fact is written clearly on the face of the Order, in the hierarchies of grades and initiations which it comprises. Even of we had no means of proving that the aims of the inner Masonic circle are evil, the possibility of their being evil would be sufficient to constitute a grave objection to Freemasonry, in consequence of

which no man of sound principles should allow himself to be enlisted in its ranks.

THIRD OBJECTION : THE OATH.

The secrecy of the Order prevents us from possessing anything like a complete knowledge on this subject. From the forms given in such hand-books as the *Complete Workings of Craft Freemasonry* (1883) we can only weave together the salient elements of the obligation as imposed on the lower grades. We there learn that the candidate swears "to conceal and never to reveal" any of the secrets of Freemasonry, "unless to a true and lawful brother, or in a regular Lodge"—"under no less penalty than that of having y...t...c...a..." (some darkly hinted physical mutilation (p. 42,258); or even death (p. 105); and of "being branded as a wilfully perjured individual void of all moral worth" (p. 39,42). The obligation also includes "never trying to obtain the secrets of a superior degree" (p. 57); also obedience to the rules, and to resolutions passed by the majority, and perfect submission to the Master and Wardens, acting "in their official capacity" (*ib*). Except for the physical penalties thus accepted, there would be nothing inherently objectionable in such a form of oath, provided its full scope and bearing, and the aims and ends to which it must be subordinated, were clearly known to all; but the want of this is precisely what constitutes the Catholic objection against it.

It is popularly supposed that the initiated member swears absolute obedience to all orders, no matter if they involve the commission of a crime. We do not venture to make this assertion our own. The *form* may be absolute; but it must be subject to the restrictions of the Constitutions, whatever they may be—and in the Constitutions of the Order we find it stated that "A

Mason is particularly bound never to act against the dictates of his conscience." According to this clause a Mason, if ordered to commit what he knew to be a crime, would be bound by the rules of his Order to refuse obedience—just as in the Jesuit Order the vow of obedience is limited by the clause in the Constitutions which says that he is bound to obey only where no sin is involved—*Ubi peccatum non cerneretur.* Moreover, in the ceremony itself it is officially declared that "in these vows there is nothing incompatible with your civil, moral or religious duties" (p. 437); and although the personally confided secrets of a brother are to be kept inviolable, express exception is made to "murder, felony and all other offences contrary to the law of God and the ordinances of the realm" (p. 104). Hence, supposing that no Mason binds himself by oath to obey orders to commit a crime, the objection to the oath must be placed on other grounds, viz., those already given under the heading of secrecy. No man has a right to bind himself to obey orders conveyed to him from unknown superiors, or for the promotion of aims the nature of which is concealed from him. In short he is bound to see and know the bearings of his action, and the purposes it is designed to serve. But this is exactly what a Mason of the lower grades does *not* know—the secret being reserved to the initiated few of the innermost circle.

We have been told that upright Freemasons, when asked how they can submit to an oath of this description, have sometimes answered that they "regard it merely as a form, not believing that the Order has secret ends beyond those which it ostensibly puts forward before the world." They seem in fact to think that the whole business of the secret is so much "mystifying mummery."

This we learnt from a Freemason not long ago. If this be the view taken, it seems to us a preposterous one. To swear an oath as a mere form is, to say the least, a lamentable trifling with sacred things; while to take it on the presumption that it will never be made subservient to objectionable ends, cannot be cleared from the charge of recklessness in serious matters. Catholics at any rate cannot, consistently with their principles of moral theology, take such an oath, whether seriously or as a mere form; and this constitutes the third objection to Freemasonry.

FOURTH OBJECTION: ANTI-CHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY.

We have already condemned the secrecy of the Freemasonic Order, even supposing as a matter of fact that the secret aims and methods of the Order are innocent in themselves. But we now come to the question whether, in spite of this secrecy, the aims and workings of the Order do not betray themselves. In certain cases they seem to have done so to a considerable extent. Whatever may be the condition of English Freemasonry, it seems an undeniable fact that continental Freemasonry is nothing short of an active conspiracy against Christianity in general, and against the Catholic Church in particular. From the amount of Masonic literature which has been collected together by many recent authors, we should surmise that continental Freemasons have thrown their mask aside, and have paraded their secret ostentatiously to the world. We cannot in the compass of this occasional article go into details, but it will be enough to refer to Cowen, *X Rays in Freemasonry*, or Preuss, *American Freemasonry*, as well as several C. T. S. tracts. Assuming the facts to be as stated, we ask what explanation can be offered by the Freemasons. We can

imagine their saying that "this anti-Christian policy is directly counter to the spirit of Freemasonry, which professes complete toleration of all religions"—adding that "in England, Freemasonry has preserved the true spirit of the Order, while the other Lodges have departed from it." To this we should reply:—If this be the case, the Freemasons of England, instead of preserving fellowship with continental Freemasons, are in duty bound to regard them as so many apostates, and should cut them off from communion as such. And yet, nothing of this sort has, at least effectively, been done. An English Mason still enjoys the rights of brotherhood in the Italian and French Lodges, and an Italian or French Mason enjoys the same fellowship among his English brethren—while all are unanimous in declaring the solidarity of Freemasonry all over the world. [On this point, see later, page 29].

If this statement of the case is correct, the presumption seems to be, *not* that the inner policy of Freemasonry is *necessarily* to labour for the destruction of Christianity, but that it lies at least within the scope and competency of the inner circle to take up such a policy if they like, without let or hindrance from the secret Constitutions of the Order. The mere *possibility* of this being the case constitutes our fourth objection to Freemasonry.

But at least it might be and is argued that "the English branch of the Order is not guilty of this policy or implicated in it. Hence whatever objection there might be to joining continental Lodges, the same objection does not apply to the English." To this we answer:—Suppose the case to be so; suppose that this fourth objection is not applicable to the English section as such, there still remains the other three

objections already enumerated—each one of which taken singly is enough to settle the question, for Catholics at least; and we think, enough to settle it for Christians in general. However there is one further point to be noticed. Even if English Masonry is not of itself directly guilty; still the solidarity of the whole Order cannot be denied. Hence, no matter how much English Freemasons may deprecate the conduct of their brethren abroad, they are still in some indirect way implicated. English Masonry by its respectable character is extremely useful as a set-off against continental rascality, giving it the moral support of numbers and rank. Besides, it is even said that anti-Catholic schemes, in Italy especially, have been greatly furthered by English money and English influence; and who knows whether the inner clique in England is not leagued hand-and-glove with their foreign brethren in their worst enterprises—the respectable figure-heads and lower grades being in fact nothing but the unconscious dupes and tools of continental conspirators ?

Such is the charge which is often expressed. And while the accusation is incapable of proof, it is also incapable of disproof. Nor can the Order justly complain of calumny or misrepresentation. It is the penalty of secrecy to be suspected of the worst that can be imagined; and moreover it furnishes the awful possibility of it all being true. So long as that possibility continues wrapped up in the veils of secrecy, so long does our objection, even against English Masonry, remain.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Our objections to the Masonic Order can therefore be summed up as follows :—

(1) The theological position of Freemasonry, which makes it a religious sect, embodying the sufficiency of

theism, indifferentism regarding more specific creeds, and (by implication) a rejection of the divine claims of Christianity.

(2) The secrecy of the aims and methods of Freemasonry, which puts its lower members in the unjustifiable position of supporting a cause which is concealed from their knowledge, and which *possibly* may be evil.

(3) The confirmation of this unjustifiable position by an oath, which in itself is wrong for the same reasons.

(4) The open and declared anti-Christian policy of continental Freemasonry, which reflects on English Masonry, at least through the solidarity of the Order throughout the world.

It is on the strength of these reasons that the Church, from the first manifestations of Freemasonic existence in the year 1717, has firmly and explicitly condemned the Freemasonic Order, and forbidden Catholics to join it under pain of forfeiting Catholic church-membership. Anyone of these four reasons would suffice to justify the Church's prohibition; while the four together constitute an unimpeachable case. It is for the same reasons that Catholics are bound to avoid countenancing the Order indirectly, even where this would not incur the penalties attached to actual membership. Whatever outsiders may think of the matter, at least they will see from the foregoing pages that our position does not arise from blind fanaticism, but rests on intelligible grounds of principle; and Catholics themselves will be all the better for understanding what that groundwork of principle is.

NON-CATHOLICS AND FREEMASONRY.

With non-Catholics the case is in many respects different, since they are actuated by a different set of religious principles. They do not, like us, hold that

the Catholic Church is the one sole divinely instituted religion, while all others are human variations, either by way of mutilation or of doctrinal corruption. They have no difficulty in extending their patronage to various sects on the ground of "fundamental agreement," slurring over points of disagreement. They can pass from one to another indifferently, and take part in the services of each in turn. They are not furnished, as we are, with a code of definite and clean-cut principles; they dislike "theories," and take a rough practical view of things. Hence they feel no difficulty in attaching themselves to a Society professing a religious belief much more limited than their own, or one which regards varieties of creed as a matter of personal opinion or taste; no difficulty in lending themselves to a Society which presents a harmless front, no matter what its secret capabilities may be. They apparently see no difficulty in regarding a solemn oath in the light of a mere form, or of taking it with an assurance which it does not of itself provide. They have no difficulty in confining their attention to their own branch, without caring about the conduct of other branches, etc., etc.

All this we consider to be quite wrong. Nevertheless, granting that such views exist, it is only natural that outsiders should act in good conscience according to them. Hence, in the eyes of a Catholic there is no discredit or breath of infamy attached to membership on the part of the many noble and honourable Englishmen who are proud of their Masonic rank. But with Catholics themselves the case is different; and outsiders must be got to recognise the difference, whether they sympathise or not. Those who cannot agree with us, or see the matter as we see it, will—if they are judicious and honourably-minded men—at least feel respect for

us, who are ready to sacrifice the social or material advantages which are supposed to accrue from Masonic membership, simply on the ground of what we deem to be the sound principles of ethical conduct. Hence much is to be gained by Catholics courteously yet firmly adhering to their own principles, and openly acting upon them wherever the opportunity occurs.

Note.—The reasons which are said to attract outsiders to become Freemasons are these :—(1) The *fascination of mystery and ceremonial*, which appeals to certain temperaments. We have been told however that many Masons do not believe in the mystery, and think the ceremony childish. Eye-witnesses at the recent function described it as "extremely stupid—like children pretending to be so and so in the nursery;" (2) *Comprehensiveness and absence of sectarian strife.* The absence of strife is good. The comprehensiveness would be good in a purely secular society, but cannot be approved when held as a theological principle ; (3) *Benevolence and charity.* Yet as far as we know, Masonry normally exercises "charity" only to its own members, their widows, etc., and is therefore more of a Mutual Aid Society than a Benevolent Society. There need be no more charity in it than there is in a Burial or Provident Fund, where in return for a fixed subscription you receive support during sickness for self and family, etc. (4) *Good fellowship and mutual support in business*, etc.—one Mason helping another to promotions, etc. This is however a system which is capable of much abuse and much injustice to others who are not of the Order. On the whole we do not see much in all this to recommend Freemasonry to upright and honourable men.

The points briefly sketched out in the foregoing article will receive fuller elucidation from those which follow.

II

A SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION.

(Examiner, Jan. 5th and 12th, 1907.)

The discussion on Freemasonry in Bombay, alluded to in the previous article, was not without its response in other quarters. On reaching Calcutta some time later, we found *The Englishman* engaged in a controversy on the same subject, which grew fast and furious day by day, often to the extent of several columns—the interest of which was kept up for a space of three weeks, only then to die out from sheer lack of anything fresh to be said on the subject. Having made a complete collection of the correspondence from beginning to end, we came to the conclusion that, since the arguments were fairly representative and almost exhaustive, we could not do better than summarise the whole discussion with comments. All the objections and difficulties therein raised are sure to recur again and again, and a clear answer to them will likely enough prove useful in future times.

The ball was started by the *Catholic Herald*, which on September 26th called attention to the case in Bombay, and raised a similar protest against the use of Masonic rites in a function which was about to take place in Calcutta. This protest was reproduced by *The Englishman* on October 4th. This on the following day drew from an "English Freemason" a moderately worded letter of inquiry as to the reasons why Catholics objected to Freemasonry. In answer to this question, a correspondent next day sent in a copy of our article "What about Freemasonry," as calculated to furnish a complete answer. Out of this article *The Englishman* published the last few paragraphs, in which the Catholic

position is briefly summed up. Then the discussion began. First came a letter signed "Catholic Freemason," in which the writer declared that, though a Catholic, he "could not see an atom of reason in the rabid denouncement of the craft by the Catholic Church." Next came a letter from a Catholic explaining that Freemasonry was condemned because of its mischievous character on the continent. Thirdly came an epistle signed "Sensible Catholic," who has the ill manners to taunt the Editor of the *Catholic Herald* (and the Jesuit Fathers generally) with being "foreigners." Next there appeared a letter from a Jesuit Father championing the arguments contained in our article and further explaining them. And so the fight went on day by day for three weeks—letters from Catholics, loyal or disloyal to the Church; and letters from outsiders, furious or sober, offensive or courteous, inquisitive or assertive, with an occasional display of wit and humour. The result was a large *olla podrida* of views, opinions, difficulties, and solutions either right or wrong, with a gradual clearing up of the bearings of the case—so that on the whole it may be said that Catholic principles obtained a wide hearing; and to this extent at least the discussion did good. On the other hand, some thought that the signs of a split among Catholics themselves was damaging to our cause; while others considered that the airing of the Catholic position would rouse bad feeling outside the Church, etc. The split among Catholics was certainly disedifying. Still the disloyalty of some only served to bring out the loyalty of others. As for outsiders, if the publication of our principles breeds bad feeling, that is merely the penalty which accompanies devotion to principles in any case; and we cannot help that.

Picking out the different points of the discussion, we shall now append a short comment to each :—

(1) *The ceremony of laying a foundation-stone has no religious significance.*

Answer.—Anyone who has read the text of the ritual, as published in the Bombay papers, will see that it contains several prayers addressed to the great Architect of the Universe. Can these prayers be without religious significance ? Surely not ; and this being the case, the only question is, *what significance ?* Taking the prayers as they stand, there seems to be nothing objectionable in them. The Catholic Church could quite easily embody them in her own ritual; and if they were so embodied, no one we think would find any fault with them. The objection is therefore not in the prayers themselves, but in the associations attached to them. They are the official prayers of the Masonic Order, to be recited by Masonic officials ; and our objection lies precisely in that. To take an illustration. The Lord's Prayer is of course entirely unobjectionable. But suppose the Masonic ritual consisted in reciting the Lord's Prayer, we should object to it all the same—not because of the Lord's Prayer in itself, but because it was a Masonic religious service. Or let us take another example. The services of the Anglican Prayer-book are so unobjectionable in themselves, that it would be possible for the Catholic Church to use them just as they stand ; and if performed in a Catholic Church by Catholic priests under the Church's approbation, Catholics could attend them and derive great devotional profit from them. But when performed in an Anglican church by Anglican ministers they become something far different from the mere words. They embody the official life, and connotate the official doctrine and authority of the

Anglican church; and as such, Catholics can have nothing to do with them. That is our case in a nutshell. We object to Catholics participating in other religious services except Catholic ones, on the principle that such services represent a religious institution or embody a religious position which Catholics cannot accept.

(2) *Masonic rites merely add splendour to the foundation-laying, just as the purple cassock adds splendour to Catholic functions.*

Answer.—Masonic rites and purple cassocks do more than this. They imply and express respectively the Masonic craft and the Catholic religion lying at the back of them; and it is on this account that we object to Masonic rites in a public function.

(3) *Catholic rites would be used in opening a hospital in any Catholic country; and no Englishman residing there ought to object to them. Why then object to Masonic rites in India?*

Answer.—Simply because the case is totally different. In a Catholic country the Catholic religion is the established religion of the State; and public functions are done according to the Catholic rite as part of the law of the land. In India, on the contrary, there is no established religion. All are equally unofficial, and all equally regarded by the State with strict neutrality. Hence every religious community in India has a right to object to religious or sectarian features being introduced into functions of a public nature—anything in which the public in general are equally concerned. Catholic establishments may be opened with Catholic rites; Parsi establishments with Parsi rites; Protestant establishments with Protestant rites; Hindu establishments with Hindu rites; and finally, Masonic establishments with Masonic rites. But general establishments,

public establishments, or Government establishments must not be opened by any but purely civil rites. Neither Hinduism nor Zoroastrianism nor Catholicism nor Protestantism can be introduced into them, without the express consent of the commonwealth—else it is an unconstitutional act, sure to be offensive at least to some. Whatever other communities may think of Masonic ceremonies, Catholics at least object to them as much as they object to other kinds of non-Catholic religious ceremonies; and the professed neutrality of the State gives their objection a constitutional basis. If an Englishman in Spain objected to Catholic rites in a public affair, he would simply be told that the rites were according to the law of the country, and that his objection was therefore unconstitutional; whereas in India the contrary is the case.

(4) *But Freemasons do not object to Catholic ceremonies in Catholic countries. Why therefore do Catholics object to Masonic ceremonies in Masonic countries?*

Answer.—We deny that India is a Masonic country. But as for the rest, Freemasons in Catholic countries *do* object to Catholic ceremonies, and that in a very effectual manner. There is hardly a Catholic country in which the Freemasonic party is not identical with the anti-clerical party; and it has done and is still doing its best to root Catholicism out of the land.

(5) *Catholics are not obliged to be present at the function. Why then should they object against it?*

Answer.—Retorquetur argumentum. Supposing instead of Masonic rites, a public hospital in Calcutta or Bombay were opened by Catholic rites. What roars of indignation would arise from Protestants and Parsis and Hindus and the rest. Do you think any of them would be satisfied by the answer "No one is compelled to be

present at the ceremony ?" Their retort would be :— "It is not a question of attendance, but of the thing in itself. Why should a professedly neutral government allow Catholic ceremonies to be foisted on the country in such public affairs ?" That is the question at issue.

(6) *I sign myself a Catholic Freemason.*

Answer.—You might as well sign yourself a "Catholic Swedenborgian" or a "Catholic Christian Scientist." You may have been born and baptised a Catholic, and may still believe in the Catholic Church and its doctrines. But so long as you are a Freemason you are cut off and disowned by your own Church. No bishop, priest or deacon all the world over, from the Pope downwards, will acknowledge you as a member of the Church. You may attend Mass and Benediction still, and no one will turn you out. But if you go to confession, no priest will or can give you absolution ; and if you approach the altar no priest can or will (knowingly) give you the Holy Sacrament. Nor will any priest celebrate your marriage for you, or give you extreme unction, until you have resigned your membership of the craft, and confessed your sin of disobedience, and made yourself over repentant for reconciliation with Mother Church. You may resent this ; you may not understand this ; you may think it all wrong. But you cannot alter the fact that you are no longer a Catholic in the eyes of the Church to whom you profess allegiance—nor will be, so long as you append "Freemason" to your name.

(7) *But there is not one atom of reason in the rabid denouncement of the craft by the Catholic Church.*

Answer.—You may fail to see an atom of reason ; but the Church's law stands just as firmly as before. The Church not merely denounces the craft, but abso-

lutely forbids any Catholic to join it under forfeiture of membership. The incestuous Corinthian might not have seen a single atom of reason in St. Paul's denunciation of incest—especially as it was so common in those days. But that did not stop St. Paul from "handing him over to Satan for the punishment of the flesh, that his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord." And there he remained handed over till St. Paul received him back again, repentant, and the better for his penance. The reason may not be at all clear, but the prohibition is as plain as a pikestaff. Moreover, it is equally plain on Catholic principles that the Church has the right and power to make such a prohibition, and to impose such a penalty upon those who disregard it. As a man you may not understand why Freemasonry is condemned; but as a Catholic you ought to understand the power and authority of the Church; and you ought to know that joining the Freemasons is an act of disobedience.

Secondly, the denunciations of the Church would be "rabid" if pronounced out of blind and ignorant fanaticism. But look at a list of the popes who have uttered them:—Clement XII, Benedict XIV, Pius VII, Leo, XII, Pius VIII, Gregory XVI, Pius, IX, and Leo XIII, —the first dated 1738, the last 1884; a period of 147 years in all. Some of them were eminent scholars, some of them meek and gentle saints; all of them (one would think) free from the suspicion of "rabidity" in the mind of any well-read Catholic. Why should the popes have gone out of their way time after time to pounce down on a body of outsiders, working for the most part in countries far away, and undistinguishable from hundreds of other organised bodies outside the Church—unless a knowledge of Masonic enterprise had

forced upon their minds the conviction that the Order was of a nature incompatible with Catholic aims and principles? And when we consider that according to Catholic theology, no one is allowed to defame another, even a corporate body, except on clearly ascertained grounds and in defence of truth and right—surely we have before us in these papal condemnations a most cogent presumption that the popes must have known well what they were doing—even if unable of our own knowledge to find out the precise reasons which led them to act as they did.

(8) *But what are the real Catholic reasons against Freemasonry? The only reason I ever got from the clergy was that that Masonry was a secret society, and that nothing secret could be good.*

Answer.—If this was the answer you received, we can divide it into two parts. As to the first, I think it is well recognised that Freemasonry *is* a secret society. As to the second, the statement is too broad. Secrecy to conceal what ought to be concealed is good; while secrecy which keeps us in the dark where we ought to be in the light is bad. Freemasonry, by keeping us in the dark as to its aims and objects, is a secret society in the objectionable sense.

(9) *Masonry professes to have no aims except good ones; and this being the case, why should not her tactics for promoting good aims be kept secret from the enemy?*

Answer.—The secret is kept not merely from enemies but from friends; nay, even from all the members of the lower grades. Besides, even if in fact the aims of Masonry were good, the veils of secrecy naturally and properly create a suspicion which is enough to deter all prudent men. If the secret is a good and beneficial one, why keep it from the public? The fact that it is

kept from the public opens up at least vast possibilities of its being something bad.

(10) *If secrecy among Freemasons is objected to, what about the secrecy of the Catholic confessional?*

Answer.—The secrecy of the confessional is merely to preserve confidential communications intact. A lawyer is obliged to keep private the disclosures made by his client, because they are given in confidence, and because the client would not make them unless they were safe. Similarly with a Catholic priest, who receives confidential communications in order to give advice and absolution, according to the rules of the Catholic religion—rules which are not secret, but openly known to anyone who likes to know them. Moreover, a lawyer merely keeps the secret for sake of his client, not for any private ends of his own. Similarly with the Catholic priest, who keeps the confidences of the penitent intact for the sake of the penitent, and not to make any use of them for himself. Thirdly if a client wishes the lawyer to make use of his confidential communications, the lawyer can do so. Equally so, if a penitent wishes his communications to be made any use of, the priest can act accordingly. Finally the secrecy of the confessional is binding only on the priest and not on the penitent, who is under no obligations of secrecy at all. The secrecy of the confessional is therefore simply the protection of private confidences given for a good purpose. It is not for the concealment of private schemes and designs, nor is it in order to blind or hoodwink anybody whatsoever. Hence the case of the confessional and of Freemasonry are totally different.

(11) *The Catholic objection against taking an oath, the scope of which is not known, holds good against Catholicism also; for do not religious take vows the scope*

of which is unknown to them, and this at an immature age; and are not children in baptism committed to a sort of oath before they understand what it means?

Answer.—Here are two cases. First, as regards vows taken by young religious, Catholic theology teaches that no young religious ought to be admitted to the vows until their full nature and scope has been explained and substantially understood. Consequently, any young religious who took the vows without sufficiently understanding their scope would not be bound by them; and the vows themselves would be reckoned as null and void. Secondly, as regards baptism, the god-parents do by deputy promise on behalf of the child that it will renounce the world, the flesh and the devil—in other words, sin in its various forms. This promise is so manifestly good that no one can object to it; or if he did, he would be objecting against the teaching and practice of the Apostles and of the Christian Church.

(12) *The Church objects to Freemasonic secrecy because it prevents a man from making a complete confession.*

Answer.—If Freemasonry *does* prevent a Catholic from making a complete confession, that is a capital reason for objecting to it. But the Catholic Church objects to Freemasonry on quite other grounds as well, *e. g.*, because Freemasonry is a religious and therefore a sectarian institution.

(13) *But this objection is false. Freemasonry is not a religious institution; and if Mackey says so, this is only his own individual opinion, and proves nothing.*

Answer.—Mackey's book is nevertheless a standard hand-book recognised by the Masonic order. Moreover, he proves his point by showing that Masonry officially holds a belief in the Architect of the Universe and other

religious doctrines, beside opening and closing its meetings, and carrying on its ceremonies with theological professions and prayers. Freemasonry, in short, officially professes a religious creed and a code of religious worship. Besides, it requires its members to accept that creed and to attend those services; and what more, pray, is wanted to make it a religious institution?

(14) *Catholics seem to be under the delusion that Mosonry is a religious order.*

Answer.—We should not quite call it a "religious order;" but, considering that it is a religious institution embodying a creed of belief and a code of worship, we should rather call it a "religious sect."

(15) *But Freemasonry is not a sect. It is on the contrary professedly unsectarian, ready to accept as members those who belong to any sect or creed.*

Answer.—Freemasonry, we insist, is a sect in spite of what you call its professed unsectarianism. The attitude of positive indifference regarding various sects is in itself a sectarian position; for it maintains a theological principle of indifferentism which cannot be consistently accepted by other religious bodies. Masonry professes that it is a matter of indifference whether a man is a Christian, or a Mahomedan, or a Zoroastrian, or a Hindu. No Christian sect can subscribe to that principle—seeing that all Christian sects hold the vital importance of Christianity as the one true and divinely revealed religion.

(16) *But Anglican ministers and even bishops are Freemasons, and do not see in it anything inconsistent with their Christian profession. Why not the same with Catholics?*

Answer.—Unfortunately Anglican bishops can be inconsistent. They lend themselves to a theistical

society which ignores Christ, and professedly regards Christian teaching as a matter of indifference. If they remembered that Christianity is of vital importance they could not consistently do so. Catholics do not lose sight of this principle as Protestants sometimes do; and therefore they at least cannot embrace Freemasonry.

(17) *But Freemasonry ignores Christ simply because, being older than Christ, it could not include his teaching.*

Answer.—We deny absolutely that Freemasonry is older than Christ. Freemasonry came into existence for the first time among the Deists in England about the year 1717; and all its boasted history before this date is so much fiction, which no critical historian will accept for a moment. But even supposing that Freemasonry had existed before Christ, it ought to have accepted Christ when he came. Not having done so, it becomes an out-of-date affair, just like Judaism. Until Freemasonry professes its allegiance to Christ, no Christian can consistently have anything to do with it.

(18) *But Freemasonry, though it ignores Christ in name, upholds Christ's teaching by proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man, and by doing good as Christ did.*

Answer.—So far as it takes up part of Christ's moral teaching, it does well. But Christ taught a great deal more than th's. For instance, he taught that he was the Saviour of the world; that he was the Son of God; that all men were bound to become his disciples; that all must believe in his apos les' teaching and that they must be baptised, and must receive the Holy Eucharist, etc. Freemasonry, on the contrary, teaches that all these are matters of indifference. Therefore Freemasonry is an effect diametrically opposed to several of the essentials of Christ's religious teaching.

(19) *But Freemasonry helps men to be better disciples of Christ.*

Answer.—So far as it does this, it helps in a good work. We do not quarrel with Masonry for the truth which it maintains, but for the truth which it ignores and denies. So far as it supports morality, it is good; but so far as it ignores the rest of Christ's teaching, and regards it as a mere matter of indifference, so far it is bad.

(20) *But why object to Freemasonry, since it upholds as fundamental a belief in and reverence for the Supreme Creator and Father of all; since it maintains the fundamentals of Christian morality; since it outrages no one's religious tenets—in short, since it asserts nothing in which all religions do not agree?*

Answer.—We repeat: Freemasonry is not objectionable for these points which it maintains, but for other points which it denies. It denies the vital importance of a man being a Christian and a member of the Christian Church; and therefore it denies what is a fundamental principle among all Christians. We cannot admit that Christian belief and membership is a matter of indifference; and therefore we cannot countenance or support a body which maintains such an error.

(21) *But the English national motto, "Dieu et mon droit," and even the Lord's prayer, contain no mention of Christ. Do you argue from this that the English nation and the users of the Lord's prayer are merely theists and opposed to Christianity?*

Answer.—We do not argue anything so absurd. There is no need to mention Christ in everything; but at least we must not profess that Christianity is a matter of indifference or of individual taste; and this is what Freemasonry openly does.

(22) *But if Freemasonry is sectarian, Jesuitry is also sectarian.*

Answer.—Not at all. Jesuitry upholds the full and entire teaching and practice of the Church just as the rest of Catholics do. It differs only in practical organisation. The Jesuits are in fact nothing but a number of Catholics grouped together into one corporate body, living under a certain rule of life, and devoted in certain specific ways to promoting the cause of the Catholic Church. As for the meaning of a sect, we define it as "an organised body of men officially maintaining a theological creed and code of worship, which other Christian bodies cannot accept." Freemasonry certainly does this, and is therefore a "sect" in the strict sense of the word.

(23) *But its profession of belief in the great Architect merely indicates that it is not atheistic.*

Answer.—At the same time its profession that other dogmas are a matter of indifference, involves a denial of the vital importance of Christianity, and especially of Catholicism; and that is enough for its condemnation.

(24) *But the Catholic objection to Freemasonry rests on an imperfect understanding of the difference between English and continental Freemasonry.*

Answer.—It rests on nothing of the kind. Three of the four objections which the Church puts forward, hold good against English Freemasonry taken by itself. English Freemasonry is, we maintain, a religious institution embodying theological principles which are opposed to Catholic principles; and for that reason taken alone, Catholics can have no more to do with English Freemasonry than they can have to do with English Unitarianism. Secondly, English Freemasonry is a secret society, and exacts a secret oath; and these are two more reasons why we cannot have any connec-

tion even with English Freemasonry. Only one more reason remains; viz., that Freemasonry is actively anti-Catholic. This objection applies firstly and directly to continental Freemasonry; and it applies to English Masonry only so far as it is implicated with continental Freemasonry by the solidarity of the Order. Even if we should pass over this objection when dealing with English Masonry, the other three reasons remain applicable to English Freemasonry in their full force.

(25) *But you won't get us non-Catholics to see all that. We hold that various religious creeds are a matter of indifference so long as a man leads a good life; and we have no objection to joining a body which upholds a belief in God and the practice of morality.*

Answer.—We do not altogether expect to convince you, so long as you hold such principles; but we do at least wish to proclaim our disagreement with you on these very principles which you have just enunciated. And this for three reasons:—First, to uphold what we regard as a true principle—viz., the vital importance of the Christian religion—as opposed to your false principle of indifferentism; secondly, to get you to see that our objections to Masonry, even though you do not agree with them, rest not on unreasoned prejudice but on an intelligible foundation; thirdly, to show Catholics themselves what their own principles really are—thus to prevent them from falling into the mistake of becoming Freemasons; or what is almost as bad, from maintaining in public that their own Church is wrong.

(26) *But the Grand Orient in France is not Freemasonic.*

Answer.—The Grand Orient is one of the greatest of the Masonic Lodges, which not only professes to be

Freemasonic, but also claims to be acting in accordance with Masonic principles in trying to uproot the Catholic faith in France. It is true that English Masons some years ago repudiated the Grand Orient for professing atheism, and also for taking part in politics. But this repudiation does not seem to have had much effect; and we believe that Freemasons of the Grand Orient would be accepted into the English Lodges if they came over for that purpose, in spite of the repudiation.

At the very time we are writing these lines, an instructive side-light on this subject comes to us from France. At the moment when the French Government is in the act of putting the Separation law into effect, expelling bishops and priests from their homes, closing schools and seminaries, and taking proceedings against churches, the *Times*' correspondent (Jan. 1st) tells us that:—

"The Grand Orient of Italy has sent the following telegram to the Grand Orient of France:—'France is to-day taking a fresh and glorious step in the direction of the emancipation of mankind by inscribing a memorable date in the Golden Book of civil conquests. We send a fraternal greeting to you who have fought and conquered in the cause of our common ideal.'"

Whatever may be said about the English repudiation of the Grand Orient of France, no such repudiation has, to our knowledge, ever been made of the Grand Orient of Italy, which is still in full brotherly relations with the English Lodges. The about fact seems to speak eloquently for itself.

(27) *But our King and Emperor is the head and protector of the Freemasons in England.*

Answer.—When Edward VII. ascended the throne he resigned his post as Grand Master, which was then

taken up by the Duke of Connaught. In any case his headship would merely show that on his own principles he saw no objection to being a Freemason. It would no more recommend Masonry to Catholics than his headship of the Church of England recommends the Anglican Church to Catholics.

[King George V. is not, and never was, a Freemason].

(28) *Foreign Jesuits in India—many of them exiled from other lands—ought to be grateful to Great Britain for the liberties they enjoy under the British flag. Hence they at least ought not to raise any objection to Masonic rites in the opening of a British institution.*

Answer.—A more irrelevant remark could hardly have been put forward. It does not matter a jot who voices the objection so long as it is a good one. There is no doubt that if Mahomedans or Zoroastrians or Hindus had raised their protest instead of Catholics, everyone would have considered it an important question of religious feeling, and the Government would have been timorously careful to remove the cause of offence. Why not equally so with Catholics, who possess the same rights as others under the professedly neutral rule of India? It does not matter whether you outsiders understand the objection, or whether you agree with or sympathise with it. There the objection stands. It is a genuine one on our part; and the only question is whether it is in accordance with our constitutional rights under Indian rule. If it is, then all discussion is at an end.

(29) *But all this disturbance in the papers is calculated to do harm by rousing ill-feeling and religious rancour.*

Answer.—Possibly so; but we cannot abstain from publicly stating our principles on that account. We have a message to declare to the world; and the fact

that the message is unpopular among those who do not believe in it is no reason why we should suppress it and let matters slide. No, the only real harm was that done by writers like "Catholic Freemason," who made an open profession of disagreement with their own Church. But even this harm was, we think, counteracted by the criticisms which "Catholic Freemason" received at the hands of his more orthodox and loyal brethren.

(30) *One objection more. The first papal condemnations of Freemasonry were made long before the papal infallibility was defined; hence those condemnations could not be infallible.*

Answer.—As you say, the first papal declaration was made in 1738, and all of them but one were issued before the Vatican Council of 1870. Hence only that of Leo XIII in 1884 comes after the definition of infallibility. However the objection is of no weight. The definition of 1870 did not *make* the Pope infallible. He was infallible all the time from St. Peter downwards; and the truth was believed in the Church before the definition, which merely put a closure on all further discussion. Hence papal definitions made before 1870 were just as infallible as those made after it. However, our appeal in this matter is not so much to papal infallibility. Even putting infallibility aside, the Pope has a right to impose orders on the faithful in matters of grave import; and it is our business to obey him when he does so. As far as outsiders are concerned, our appeal is rather to the reasons why Freemasonry is condemned. If they do not appreciate those reasons we can hardly help it. We cannot enforce agreement; but we can at least try to make our position unmistakably clear.

III.

THE LEO TAXIL AFFAIR.

(Examiner, October 6th, 1906).

The current *English Mail* referring to the Masonic-rites question, delivered itself as follows :—

"The Church's charge against secret societies is, we believe, a general one, but its fulminations are never visited on Good Templars, Buffaloes, or any of the other numerous bodies that hold secret conclaves. There is probably a reason for this, quite distinct from the comparative importance of Masonry, and this reason is plausibly asserted to be the natural resentment at having been hoaxed. His Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth was the spiritual potentate who put Masons out of the pale of salvation, and his stern and uncompromising denunciation of the Craft was due in no small measure to the writings of a French journalist of the period. This individual, whose imagination was even more remarkable than his gross lying, kept the ball rolling for years in the French press with fanciful "disclosures" of Masonic doings—which according to him, included raising the devil and making human sacrifices. At last he was cornered beyond further subterfuge, and he callously told an assembly of eager reporters that he appeared before them in the character of a murderer—one who was about to slay the child of his imagination. At the end of a brief history of his great hoax he was escorted to his hotel under protection of the police !

"It was owing to this practical joker, who found a credulous audience at the Vatican, that Masonry was so vigorously condemned ; and the feeling against the Craft in the Church is not so much a conviction that

Masons are in any way unworthy, as a lingering resentment at having been fooled, and a natural dislike to acknowledge that a Papal decree could be so laughably superfluous. This aspect of the matter, of course, is not admitted by any good Catholic, but it is at least a plausible explanation of an otherwise inexplicable phenomenon." [So far the *English Mail*].

The writer's contention therefore is :—First, that it is Pius IX who is responsible for the Catholic attitude regarding Freemasonry. Secondly, that his policy was due to a "natural resentment at having been hoaxed" by a French journalist. Both points are hopelessly inaccurate. In the first place, Pius IX far from inaugurating a new policy regarding the Freemasons, merely continued that of his predecessors for more than a century before. As early as 1738, Pope Clement XII pronounced a condemnation on the Order. This was confirmed in 1751 by Benedict XIV. A similar condemnation was repeated by Pius VII in 1821, by Leo XII in 1826, Pius VIII in 1829 and Gregory XVI in 1832 ; while Pius IX in 1846 and 1864 merely confirmed the sentence already so often repeated—and which was in the last instance ratified once more by Leo XIII in 1884.

Secondly, as regards the "French journalist and his revelations." By the "French journalist" I suppose he means Leo Taxil. Let us therefore put down some of the facts relating to this gentleman. According to his autobiography (Une Chute et une Conversion, 1890), he was born in 1854, *eight years after* Pius IX had uttered his first denunciation of Freemasonry. He was a devout child of ten when Pius IX published his second *and last* condemnation in 1864. He went to the bad at the age of 14, and began to write against religion in about 1870 ; that is, *six years after the second*

and last condemnation. One of his early works was an attack on Pius IX ; but it appeared long after that Pope had uttered his last word on Freemasonry. Pius IX died in 1878, and was succeeded by Leo XIII. The new Pope repeated the condemnation of his predecessors in 1884. The next year (1885) Leo Taxil tells us that he was "converted." After his conversion he began to publish his bogus "exposures of Freemasonry"—with the express motive, as he himself declared, of "seeing how credulous Catholics were on the subject." The Papal Encyclical of 1884 had actually suggested the hoax, instead of the hoax suggesting the Encyclical! In 1886 Leo Taxil published his "Full exposure of Freemasonry." In 1890 followed his autobiography. In October 1896 "Diana Vaughan" was on the horizon, and her merits were under discussion in the *Tablet.* On April 19th 1897 she promised to show herself in public. On that day Leo Taxil appeared in her place, and acknowledged his fraud. (Cf. *Tablet,* April 24th, 1897). It is true that the Pope was taken in, amongst many others, for a time. But the Pope in question was not Pius IX, *who had died nearly twenty years before.* It was Leo XIII. Yet even Leo XIII had published his condemnation of Freemasonry *one year before* Leo Taxil began his hoax, and *twelve years before* the Diana Vaughan fraud was inaugurated. Hence the contention of the *English Mail* is nothing short of a ridiculous travesty of the facts of history.

Was Pius IX a Freemason?

It will be useful to put on record the following item taken from the *Masonic Record of Western India,* September 1894 :—

POPE PIUS IX. EXPELLED FROM THE ORDER FOR PERJURY.

At the semi-annual meeting of the Grand Lodge of

Masons, Scottish Rite of the Orient, of Palermo, Italy, held in that city on the 27th of March, Mastai Ferretti was expelled from the Order for violating his vows and for perjury. Mastai Ferretti is no other person than Pius IX., Pope of Rome. The decree of the Lodge at Palermo is published in the official paper of the Order of Freemasons at Cologne, Germany, and dated March 27. It is preceded by the minutes of the Lodge in which Mastai Ferretti, in 1826, was initiated into the Order under the old Scottish Rite. The decree reads as follows :—

"A man called Mastai Ferretti, who received the baptism of Freemasonry and solemnly pledged his love and fellowship, and who afterwards was crowned Pope and King, under the title of Pio Nino, has now cursed his former brethren and excommunicated all members of the Order of Freemasons. Therefore, said Mastai Ferretti is herewith, by decree of the Grand Lodge of the Orient, Palermo, expelled from the Order for perjury."

The charges against Mastai Ferretti were first preferred in his lodge at Palermo, in 1865, and notification and copy thereof sent to Rome, with a request to attend the lodge for the purpose of his vindication. To this the Pope made no reply, and for divers reasons the charges were not pressed until the Pope urged the clergy of Brazil to aggressive measures against the Freemasons in that country. Then the charges were pressed, and the second and third notifications sent, and after a formal trial, a decree of expulsion was entered, and caused to be published. The decree bears the signature of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, Grand Master of the Orient of Italy.—*Masonic News.*

Our second cutting is from the *Catholic Fortnightly*

Review of July 1st 1906 :—

WERE BENEDICT XIV. AND PIUS IX. FREEMASONS ?

It is asserted in the *New Age* (a Masonic Magazine, Jan. 1905, pp. 81-82) that Benedict XIV, and Pius IX. were Freemasons.

"It is related by Lenning in his German Freemason's Lexicon, that after Pope Benedict XIV. had confirmed the Bull of Pope Clement XII., his predecessor, against the Freemasons, one of his courtiers, a zealous Freemason, induced him to be privately initiated into the Order. A Roman Mason named Tripolo delivered an address at the Pope's reception into the Order, and it is a fact that during the latter part of his pontificate, the enlightened and liberal Pope *did* cease to persecute the Freemasons, thus lending strong support to Lenning's statements."

Again :

"Pope Pius IX, was a Freemason, and if Bishop Le Nordez, of Dijon, is really a member of the fraternity, he has only followed the lead of high dignitaries of his own Church."

And the inevitable conclusion :

"If the popes and bishops can be Masons, why should not the members of the same Church join the society ?"

As to the story of Lenning, considered merely from the standpoint of history, and apart from any theological questions involved—for the embracing of Masonry is apostasy from the faith—everybody can easily see that it is of no historic value whatever. "A certain courtier," " a Roman Mason named Tripolo," are too indefinite to constitute proofs of a fact which, were it true, would not have been allowed to moulder in the forgotten pages of Lenning. Here is what Dr. Albert G. Mackey, one of the leading American Masonic writers,

says of Benedict XIV. in his *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (p. 113): "He was distinguished for his learning and was a great encourager of the arts and sciences. He was, however, an implacable enemy of secret societies, and issued on the 18th of May, 1751, his celebrated Bull renewing and perpetuating that of his predecessor which excommunicated the Freemasons." The Doctor is a little late in the date, but that may be considered a clerical error. The Bull was signed on May 13 and published on May 28. (Bullarium Benedict XIV., vol. iii, p. 286).

But though a slight error has crept in as regards the date, there is no error as regards the sentiments of the Holy Father. The Bull was published in the eleventh year of a reign which lasted only seventeen years, eight months, and sixteen days, and the Pope was then already seventy-six years old.

This was the Pontiff who, between the years of seventy-six and eighty-two, after so solemn and public a proclamation, which he declared *perpetual*, is said to have been induced by an unnamed courtier to join the Masonic fraternity. Meanwhile leaving this solemn universal condemnation in full force !!! We are glad Dr. Mackey has more respect for the intelligence of his readers!

The story of the sainted Pius IX., is cut from the same cloth. "It started in Germany," says John Gilmary Shea, in his *Life of Pope Pius IX* (pp. 291-292), "and they thought that by putting the scene in America, they would escape detection. They declared positively that Pius IX. had been received into a Masonic lodge in Philadelphia, cited his discourses, and declared that a number of his autographs were preserved in the lodge. Unfortunately for the story, Philadelphia is in the civilized world. People there could read and write.

They examined and found that there was no Masonic lodge in that city by the name given; they found that no lodge in Philadelphia had ever received John Mary Mastai; they could find no trace of his ever having been there, as he never was; that no lodge had any of his autograph letters; Masons themselves attested that the whole was a pure invention. The slander thus refuted has been revived from time to time, but in later versions, care is taken not to specify the lodge or city too distinctly."

The fabled time of the Pope's initiation long antedates the famous allocution of September 25, 1865, and even the elevation of John Mary Mastai to the papal throne. But what consolation any of the brethren can gather from imagining Pope Pius IX. to have been a member of a Masonic Order is beyond comprehension.

The logical conclusion could only be that if Pius IX. had been a Freemason he must have been speaking from knowledge of the Order when in his famous allocution of September 25, 1865, he solemnly and publicly condemned Freemasonry.—"The Masonic sect has spread so greatly," says he, "that it now shows itself everywhere with impunity and raises its head more boldly than ever. We have deemed it necessary to speak again on this subject, because some people, through ignorance, falsely imagine that said society is harmless, and that the members seek only to help their fellowmen in distress and want, and that the Church has nothing to fear from them. But who does not see that this view is wholly foreign to truth? What can be the object of such an association of men of every religion and shade of belief? What is the purpose of those secret meetings and that oath of secrecy so strictly required of every initiate, by which he binds himself never to reveal the doctrines of the

Craft ? And wherefore those fearful penalties, to which the initiates devote themselves (or render themselves liable), in case they are ever untrue to their oath ? Most assuredly a society that thus shuns the light cannot but be both impious and criminal, for, according to the saying of the Apostle, 'he that doth evil hateth the light.'

IV.

MASONIC CHARITY.

(Examiner, June 29th, 1907).

Sir,—I was much impressed by the unkindness of your thrust at the Brotherhood on their want of charity to those outside their order ; and so I send you a report of the *Lahore Stranger's Home Society* which speaks volumes against your assertion ; and I take it that this is only one of many other cases where this Brotherhood testifies to the Catholic character of their charity.

Yours faithfully,
[Signed].

Comment on the foregoing letter.

The words to which our correspondent refers are the following :—"*As far as we know*, Masonry *normally* exercises charity only to its own members, their widows, etc. ; and is therefore more of a Mutual Aid Society than a Benevolent Society. There *need* be no more charity in it than there is in a Burial or Provident Fund, where in return for a fixed subscription you receive support during sickness for self and family, etc." [*Italics ours*].

Now obviously this statement was never intended to mean that individual members of the Freemasonic Order are not addicted to charity—for some of them certainly are. Nor does it mean that collections for charitable purposes are never got up by the members of particular Lodges—for they sometimes are. What the passages did mean was that the charitable department of Freemasonry *as such, according to its own published constitutions,* is of an exclusive type, confined in its application to actual members of the Order, their widows, children, etc., and this only on certain conditions which turn it into a Mutual Aid Society or Provident Society rather than a Charitable Society.

This we believe to be the case, on the following grounds :—

(1) In the *Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons* (Edition 1867) there occurs a chapter headed "*Of the Fund of Benevolence*" (p. 96-103). It lays down the amount which each member has to subscribe, the persons who are eligible to receive benefit from it, and the conditions on which the benefit will be given. The rules do not entertain for one moment the idea of applying this fund to the outside public. The persons primarily to be relieved are actual members of the Freemasonic Order. The petitioner must state the name and number of the Lodge in which he has been initiated, and must sign the petition personally unless disabled by disease or accident. Some official must visit the petitioner at his own residence so as to certify to the truth of his statements put forward in the petition. A brother who has been once relieved cannot petition a second time within one year. No Mason initiated under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of England can receive the benefit of this fund unless he

has paid the full consideration-fee, and has continued a subscribing member for at least two years, and during that period paid his quarterly dues to the fund of benevolence. Moreover, no petition shall be read unless the petitioner attend the committee in person, except in case of sickness, lameness, imprisonment or residence out-of-town. Petitions must be recommended by certifying that "the petitioner has been a regular contributing member for so many years, and that we have known him in reputable circumstances, and that the allegations set forth in the petition are true." When the case has been proved satisfactorily, "the committee may order the payment of any sum not exceeding ten pounds towards the relief of a distressed brother."

The committee may also grant any sum not exceeding five pounds towards the relief of the indigent widow or child of a deceased Mason who would himself have been qualified to receive assistance: or of a brother who has died within two years from the period of his initiation and continued a subscribing member to his death. If the children are totally dependant on the widow, or if there be more than one orphan, the sum may be extended to ten pounds; but the application must be made within two years of the death of the father. In very extraordinary cases the sum may be (by the grand master) extended to twenty pounds or (by a grand lodge) even as far as fifty pounds. On no pretence are any of these rules to be infringed. There is not a word here or elsewhere contemplating the extension of benevolence to non-Masons or to the general community, and the whole organisation is precisely that of a Mutual Benefit or Provident Society and nothing more.

(2) This evidence of the Masonic constitutions is borne out by my personal experience in the following

way. For five years I was on intimate terms with an English Freemason, and I used regularly to see the notices of business to be transacted in the meetings he used to attend. They were always the same—to consider the petition of Brother *So and so*, or some other case of the widow or child or Brother *So and so*, deceased—never a single word about contributions to any public or private charity outside the Order.

So far for Freemasonic charity as such, and as contained in the constitutions of the Order. This does not of course prevent the members of a particular Lodge, *in an extra-official manner*, getting up a subscription among themselves for some local charity, and having the same put down as a contribution from *Lodge So and so*. But such charity is not the charity of the Masonic Order as such.

This is just what seems to have happened in the case of the Lahore Stranger's Home Society whose report our correspondent sends us. Looking over the list we find a total of Rs. 11,065 from which must be deducted the previous balance of Rs. 7,000 and a "transfer" of Rs. 1,500. This leaves an actual subscription list of Rs. 2,565. Among the subscribers we find one "Lodge" contributing Rs. 16, two others Rs. 50 each, three others Rs. 25 each, one other Rs. 36, and one "Chapter" Rs. 50, making up a sum-total of Rs. 277; while the remainder, that is to say Rs. 2,288, is subscribed by the general public in various sums ranging from Rs. 1,000 to Re. 1—many of the single individuals contributing more than any of the Lodges taken singly. Now it will be seen from these figures that, even if the moneys *were* contributed by the Masonic Lodges constitutionally and as such, the results would hardly be grand enough to crow over. But if, as we venture to

suppose, these contributions were raised by extra-official collection made among the members, and not drawn from the Benevolent Fund of the Freemasons as such, the instance which our correspondent brings up for our refutation does not in any way touch our contention; viz., that the benevolence of the Freemasonic Order as such, according to its official constitution, is not charity in the proper sense of the word but is of the sort proper to a Mutual Aid Society or Benevolent Society.

V.

THE SECRET OF FREEMASONRY.

(Examiner, Oct. 10th, 1908).

A Study in American Freemasonry, based on Pyke's *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite;* Mackey's *Masonic Ritualist;* The *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, and other American Masonic Standard Works. By Arthur Preuss, Editor of the *Catholic Fortnightly Review*. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1908. Price $ 1-50.

The title "American Freemasonry" is evidently adopted by way of caution, because the works made use of are all published in America. The Freemasonry they contain, however, is not anything local or peculiar, but substantially representative of the Order taken as a whole.

All the Freemasonic literature we have ever seen is of the same type, chiefly made up from smatterings of Cabbalistic and Gnostic lore and more than fantastic

legend. The only question is, whether it ought to be taken seriously? So far we have never succeeded in this. It seems to us the outcome of a certain morbid instinct for the mysterious with nothing at the back of it—the same instinct which in its natural form makes children delight in ghost stories and fairy tales; underground passages and hidden mysteries; spells, charms and talismans; dead hands and spells of fate; wizards, witches and the rest—and which, among children of a larger growth, leads to dabblings in spiritism and hypnotics. It is partly at least by pandering to this deep-seated instinct, that Freemasonry draws so large a percentage of the human race under its sway—so much so, that if it would once abandon its profession of secrecy and divest itself of all mystery, we really believe that it would cease to be the numerous body it is.

The literature of Freemasonry seems to have for its chief object to foster and cherish this idea of mysteriousness which is so potent a factor in its influence. "Part seen, imagine part," would seem to be the motto of the writers. By perusing the very able summary of Masonic teaching presented to us in this volume, we should fancy ourselves to know all about it. But when, at the same time, we are told that the real secrets of Freemasonry are strictly reserved to the initiated, the only conclusion suggested by the seeming inconsistence is this:—Either there is no real secret in Freemasonry at all, or else this literature is pure humbug from beginning to end. Our personal belief in the matter is that both these conclusions are true but in different ways. The mysteries of Freemasonry as revealed in Masonic literature are real in the sense that the ideas and ritual

practices described really belong to it; but at the same time they are merely so much food for the mystery-loving instinct of humanity, so much bait held out to credulous mankind. If there is any secret hidden behind this mummery, it is a secret which has nothing to do with the mummery itself. We feel inclined to believe that the real secret, so far as it exists, is neither doctrinal nor ritual, but consists in that particular political or religious policy which the leaders of the order happen in any given country to espouse—a policy which may vary at different times and in different places. In short, the membership of Freemasonry is first created, partly at least, by appealing to a morbid curiosity and a love of the mysterious; and being thus created, it becomes available for the use of the leaders in any direction is which they may choose to direct it. The ritual mystery is, in short, merely a means for securing influence over a large body of men, for ulterior ends known only to the few, and manifested to the rest just so far as the exigencies of the case require.

This conclusion seems to follow from the perusal of Masonic literature, and from the irreconcilable inconsistency which that literature embodies. The lengthy and detailed account which Freemasonry gives of itself *may* perhaps be utterly misleading. Such we should expect it to be in case of a body which in one breath professes to have a secret, and in the next breath tells us with the utmost ingenuousness what that secret is. By accepting Masonry's ostensible account of itself, however, we can at least formulate an *argumentum ad hominem* more or less as follows:—"Whatever Freemasonry may be in its hidden and secret essence, this at least is what you give it out to be. Whatever may be the

ideas you instil into the minds of the deeper initiates, at least this much you profess to instil into the minds of all. Freemasonry beyond this may be for the better or for the worse; but this much at least you solemnly assure us that it is. Let us then take Freemasonry as you present it to us, and sit in judgment on it. Having examined your account in detail, we can arrive at our verdict; and that verdict can only be, from the Christian point of view at least, an unqualified condemnation."

Such is implicitly the method, and explicitly the outcome of the work before us. From six standard Masonic treatises, enumerated at the beginning, the author picks out the main points of interest. Some of them are so childish that it is a wonder the author has deigned to take them seriously. He should have let his sense of humour loose on them, and laughed them out of court by holding up their intrinsic absurdity. This is sometimes done, but too sparingly.

Culling from the book a few main points we come to these results :—

(1) The idea that Freemasonry is merely a social and benevolent society of an unsectarian character, though often put forward, will not stand examination. It breaks down at once on consulting Masonic literature, and seems if anything to reveal the simplicity of those who believe it.

(2) This literature loudly professes that Freemasonry has a secret in reserve for its initiates; and the preservation and due communication of this secret belongs to its essential constitution.

(3) This secret is declared to be "a system of morality veiled in allegories and symbols." Where the objects made use of are Christian, they are intend-

ed in allegorical sense different from the Christian sense, and embody ideas and doctrines alien to and even antagonistic to the tenets of Christianity. Those not properly initiated into these occult meanings are misled into thinking Masonry more Christian than it really is.

(4) The communication of the Masonic secret involves a shock to the recipient. It professes to contain some new light which is, or may be, revolutionary of his conventional ideas. These old ideas are to be left behind and abandoned in favour of the new, as error is abandoned on the attainment of truth. This system of truth concerns the nature and essence of God and of the human soul.

(5) The secret of Masonry is thus a system of religious belief with a ritual embodying this belief, and therefore a religion. It does not however assume a place *among* the sects. It professes to be *above* them all, and looks complacently upon them all, because it knows itself to be the one true religion, while all the sects are corruptions and perversions of the same.

(6) This religion is certainly not Christianity, which is to be ranked among the rest as a corruption. It harks back to pre-Christian times, to the ideas and systems of paganism, and specially the mysteries of sun worship, phallus worship, etc. Its symbolism is largely phallic. It asserts the male and female principle in the deity ; the origin of the world by emanation and not by creation ; the essential divinity of man, who is the true God-incarnate. The elements of this system are drawn promiscuously from Hindu emanative pantheism, the gnostic system of Æons, and above all the Jewish Cabbala. The whole is wrapped up in a complexity of symbolic figures (the triangle, the circle, the

point, etc.) and a maze of mystic interpretations of the letters of the alphabet, etc., according to the Cabbalistic method. The trichotomy of body, soul and spirit is adopted according to the Hindu and the gnostic systems...The spirit is essentially divine, and eternal before and after, and is uncontaminated by the actions of the body, etc.

(7) Although the Bible is honoured, this is only as "covered by the square and compasses," that is to say, interpreted symbolically according to the Masonic system. Its orthodox Christian significance is rejected.

(8) The principles of morality shown forth in Masonic literature are such as no Christian could admit, and Masonic benevolence is so narrowed down as to be hardly worthy of the name. Masonic history before the year 1717 is so much fiction, as there is no evidence of its existence before that date. Finally, the solidarity of the Freemasons throughout the world is a fact which cannot be denied.

These outlines will only inadequately show the value of the work. Except for the disgust one feels at the nonsensical character of some parts of the Masonic exposition, the work will be read with pleasure and absorbing interest, as well as with satisfaction at seeing how well it has been done. The editor of the *Catholic Fortnightly Review* deserves sincere congratulations on his achievement.

IV.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF FREEMASONRY.

(Examiner, June 13th, 1903).

It seems that Freemasonry (in the sense in which we now use the word) dates back no further than the year 1717, when the first Lodge was founded in London.

Whether this Lodge had *any* connection with the mediæval Mason guilds before the year 1717, so as to claim continuity with them, as a matter open to much dispute [Cf. Cowen, *X-Rays in Freemasonry;* Scott, *Cathedral Builders:* Preuss, *American Freemasonry, for* opposing views]. But even if the connection be admitted the mediæval guilds were real artizans' guilds, with no motive except mutual aid and fellowship among the working classes; and the secrets preserved were then nothing but certain trade secrets (analogous to the secret for making Chartreuse)—whereas in the year 1717 a new epoch was inaugurated and a new society formed—new in the sense of modifying the scope and aims of the union and the nature of the secret. Finally this new Masonic guild became a factor in the religious and political movements of the time—which the old tradesmen's guild was not.

By the year 1730 the number of Lodges in and about London had grown to 130, while 55 had sprung up in Wales. In 1725 the first Lodge on the continent was opened at Paris. One was founded at Dublin in 1730; another in Florence in 1733. The same year saw the beginnings of Freemasonry in America. After that date it spread over into Holland, Sweden, Scotland,

Po and, etc., and assumed the nature of a world-wide organisation.

Of the nature of this organisation we know enough to recognise its identity with the modern Masonic sect taken as a whole. Its spirit was it seems deistic rather than atheistic. It tended to promote indifferentism under the cover of political tolerance, and its members were bound by an unconditioned oath of obedience and secrecy. That the institute was at once regarded by the Church as mischievous or immoral in principle or in practice is evident from the fact that twenty years after its foundation it was condemned by Pope Clement XII (1738). This condemnation was repeated by Benedict XIV in 1751.

During the 19th century the number of Lodges had grown to such an extent that in 1866 there were estimated to be 70 Grand Lodges, round which about 7,300 simple Lodges were grouped. Out of these many were in Protestant countries. There were 4,000 in North America, 1,700 in Great Britain, 311 in the Protestant parts of Germany. About 1858 and later there was a strong growth of Freemasonry in certain Catholic countries, as France, Spain, Italy, and Belgium. During the same period the Popes almost all reiterated their condemnations, e.g., Pius VII in 1821, Leo XII in 1826, Gregory XVI in 1832, Pius IX in 1865 and Leo XIII in 1884; which Pontiffs, repeatedly condemning all secret societies in general and the Masonic in particular, proscribed its members and excommunicated its supporters. The Freemasons have from their very beginning been associated to some extent with anti-Catholic principles; but in more recent times they are recognised to have been active promoters of the socialist, anarchist, and generally anti-religious movements which have

taken place in Europe—such as the Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese revolutions, and the anti-clerical campaigns in each of these countries.

Such in brief outline seems to be the authentic history of the Masonic institute. Now we pass from fact to fiction, and to a kind of literature which may be described as the Historico-Mythology of Freemasonry.

Instead of recognising the recent origin of the Society, writers in this line weave together a fanciful history of Masonry ; pretending that from the beginning of the world, or at least from before the flood, the secret sect of the Freemasons was in existence. The method for constructing this wonderful history is simple enough. Just as the Horticultural Society might trace back its own existence to the garden of Eden, because forsooth Adam was a gardener ; just as they might continue their records from this date by collecting from ancient history every mention of gardens and gardening and gardeners, and saying that all these records refer to the Horticultural Society already existing in those remote ages—so the Freemason historian compiles a history of architecture and building from the earliest ages, and ascribes it all to the society of the Freemasons. Freemasons built the ark of Noah ; Freemasons projected the tower of Babel and superintended its construction ; Freemasons built the Tabernacle in the wilderness and designed the breast-plate of Aaron ; Freemasons built Solomon's Temple—in fact Solomon himself was one of their Grand Masters ; Freemasons erected the walls of Jerusalem. After these antecedents it was in its gray old age that Freemasonry built the mediæval cathedrals—the mediæval trades-guilds being Masonic, etc., etc.

Of course we need not go carefully into this Masonic mythology, as we do not suppose anyone educated in

general history can believe anything so ridiculous. We only mention it in passing as one of the accompaniments almost invariably associated with the idea of a secret society or any esoteric clique—Theosophism providing another example of the same thing. By assuming a secret character, they are irresistibly tempted to run into historical romancing about their past; and think they can safely do so, just because *being secret* in their constitution they can defy all criticism. To all historical investigation they of course triumphantly retort, that exoteric history does not provide data which belongs only to the esoteric circle, and therefore is not committed to written documents in the past.

Masonic Fables.

Intelligent Masons are becoming ashamed of the assertion, found in so many of their standard books, that Freemasonry is of ancient origin, and of the tales that are told to make the craft appear more important than it is. In the "Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Nevada for 1920, p. 66, is quoted the following sober statement by Grand Master Lindsay, of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina (we are indebted for the quotation to the *Christian Cynosure,* Chicago, Vol. LIV, No. 2, p. 50 sq.):

"If there were just some way to weed out all the fool fables which often render ridiculous the noble Order of Masonry, it would be better for the standing of the fraternity. No fault should be found with the allegorical teaching included, but when orators of supposed intelligence gravely tell the gullible multitude at Masonic picnics and on other public occasions that Masonic lodges were in operation before the Deluge, that our present Ritual has been handed down from the

days of King Solomon, that there has never been a president of the United States who was not a Mason, that all signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons, except Benedict Arnold, who, by the way, was a Mason, it is enough to make an Egyptian mummy laugh. The writer once heard a much-travelled visiting Brother seriously declare in a lodge at Raleigh that he had visited lodges in India which had records running back six thousand years. Ananias and Baron Munchhausen were paragons of veracity as compared with that Brother."—*Observer, in Fortnightly Review*, July 1, 1921.

VII.

ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL MASONRY.

(Examiner, Oct. 12th, 1907).

The objection most commonly raised against the Catholic attitude is that we tend to ignore the difference between the pacific and in some way "pious" and non-political character of English Masonry, and the polemical, impious and political character of continental Masonry. The reading of this pamphlet should, however, suffice to show that the difference between English and Continental Masonry, in the practical region both of religion and of politics, is fully acknowledged. We have expressly declared in one place that "even if we should pass over this point when dealing with English Freemasonry, the *other three* reasons remain applicable to English Masonry in their full force." Out of these

three reasons, those of secrecy of aim and the secret oath can also for argument's sake be entirely put aside, and the whole case made to stand on one reason only—that which we put first in the list, and which runs as follows :—"English Freemasonry is, we maintain, a religious institution embodying theological principles which are opposed to Catholic principles ; *and for that reason taken alone* Catholics can have no more to do with English Masonry than they can have to do with English Unitarianism" (p. 28).

This is a point hardly needing the space which we devoted to it, as it is freely admitted in the constitutions of the Order, and in the official and semi-official literature of the subject. It will however be of interest to insert here an incidental confirmation which reaches us from the English papers, and which also throws some sidelight on the condition of Masonry in France.

THE *Catholic Herald of India* of July 24th wrote as follows :—

"The Dean of Gloucester—[himself a prominent Freemason]—delivered recently a sermon in his cathedral at the annual festival of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the country. After speaking of the satisfaction which such a goodly gathering of his brother Masons gave him as a witness to the fact that "the corner-stone of English Masonry is the belief that 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,'" he went on to express his regret that "one great division of the Masonic brotherhood"—please, mark this, the assertion of brotherhood between the English and French branches—"has now ranged itself formally and openly with the declared enemies of Christianity, ranking themselves with no mere agnostics, doubters and enquirers, but with the bitter and remorseless foes of the religion

which alone can make a country, as it has done our England, free and great and strong. It is the deliberate conviction of grave and thoughtful men that Masonry, a powerful order in France, our well-loved neighbour, is the seat and home of that bitter, relentless infidelity which is working such terrible havoc, which is gravely threatening the peace and well-being of that glorious France our friend... For a time the trouble which has grown between the Church and State in France was not much heeded, still less commented upon, in England. Many of us were grieved, but we grieved silently. It was emphatically not our concern. Gradually the veil was lifted, and we saw the feud was based upon graver issues. Separation between Church and State has something sinister behind it, a grim spectre of intense hostility to revealed religion, to Christianity in any form.''

"The Dean recited some of the terms of the anti-religious programme already accomplished in France, and quoted the Archbishop of Westminster as showing that thoughtful men ascribed 'these grave and awful acts to the influence of the powerful order of Freemasons.' Finally, the preacher warned his brethren of the Craft to save their order from the leprosy of irreligion. In conclusion he said: 'I believe our Masonic Order has yet to play a great and very noble part. Our order—does it not, Brothers?—our order now in England rests upon religion. Never is an English Lodge opened without prayer; never closed without asking the Almighty Architect to shield us, help us, bless us.' In every Lodge, the chief ornament is the Bible. Englishmen were known in past days as the 'Men of the Book.' Let us Masons jealously, proudly claim the grand old title given us in the days of Elizabeth and James as our own to-day. We, too, would be

known far and wide *par excellence* as 'Men of the book.' "

"We record this important testimony to the religious character of the Craft, so publicly uttered by one in authority, as a further argument, if required, against such as would deem themselves Catholics and yet be Masons. 'Our Order now in England rests upon religion.' Surely not on the Catholic religion. If a Catholic's duty is not to participate in religious ceremonies which are not those of his Church, where is the place for him in the Masonic Order which rests upon a religion other than his own, in a Masonic Lodge which is never opened without prayer, and never closed without invoking the Almighty Architect ?"

A DIALOGUE.

Thus far the *Catholic Herald*. It will be well however to take the present opportunity of rubbing in the Catholic principles a little more. The following dialogue between a Catholic priest and a non-Catholic layman will perhaps best illustrate the idea :—

Layman.—"Sir, though I entertain a great respect for the members of your cloth, I cannot help thinking that you have quite a mistaken idea about English Freemasons."

Priest.—"May I in return venture to remark that I do not think we have a mistaken idea about them at all."

Layman.—"Well, this is my point. You do not seem to understand the difference between the English and the French, or Italian, or other Continental Masonry. I know that they are anti-religious and anti-Catholic, and deserve all the condemnation they receive. But English Masonry is quite different."

Priest.—"We perfectly well understand the difference. We even know that the English Masons have repudiated the French Grand Orient on account of its

atheism and interference with politics. Viewed from this practical standpoint we do not for a moment class English Masons and Continental Masons together. Our objection to English Masonry rests on other grounds which apply to Freemasonry all the world over—no matter whether it be atheistic and political or not."

Layman.—"What then is your objection?"

Priest.—"Our objection is drawn from the Official constitutions of the Order, which bind English and Continental Masons alike. It is the theological position embodied in those constitutions which we object to."

Layman.—"What do you mean?"

Priest.—"I mean that Freemasonry, while professing a belief in God, regards as a matter of indifference the idea of Christian revelation. It places Christ on a level with Moses and Mahomet and Buddha and Confucius. It does not acknowledge him as the divine founder of a divinely revealed religion—the one only divine religion in the world."

Layman.—"I admit that fully. But I take a broad-minded view of such matters myself. What does it matter what religion a man professes so long as he does his duty?"

Priest.—"Yes, that is all very well. It is good that a man should sincerely follow the light of his own conscience and believe and do what seems to him the right thing. But suppose it is a *fact* that God has instituted *one* religion, which he wants all men to embrace as soon as they understand it? Then surely it *does* matter a great deal whether a man belongs to that religion or not."

Layman.—"Yes, of course. If that were the case, then men ought to profess that religion and abandon all the rest."

Priest.—"Very well: We Catholics maintain that God *has* instituted such a unique and divine religion; namely the Catholic faith. Hence a Catholic, believing as he does, cannot choose but to maintain that religion, and refuse to place it on a level with any other."

Layman.—"From your own standpoint I fully admit your conclusions, but other people do not take the same view."

Priest.—"Of course they do not. Hence when we see non-Catholics becoming Freemasons, we must leave that to them as being their affair and not ours. But when it is a question whether *Catholics* can join the Masonic Order or not, we are bound to answer No. A Catholic cannot join the Freemasons without identifying himself with the principles of the Masonic Order. And since these principles make it a matter of indifference whether a man is Catholic or not, his incorporation into the Masonic body implicitly sacrifices the idea that Catholicism is the one true and divine religion which everybody ought to join, and subscribes to the opposite idea that one religion is as good as another."

Layman.—"Though I do not acknowledge the Catholic claims myself, still I understand now that if they are once admitted your attitude towards Freemasonry follows logically from them. Hence whatever the case may be with non-Catholics, at least no believing Catholic can consistently be a Freemason."

Priest.—"If you recognise that you recognise our essential position. All other points in the discussion are of secondary importance, and can be left aside without affecting the main question."

Layman.—" Then do you give up the other objections altogether ?"

Priest.—"By no means. We still maintain that the secrecy of the Order is objectionable. We still maintain that the oath to preserve that secrecy is objectionable. We still maintain that Continental Masonry is anti-Catholic. We still maintain that if Continental Masonry is condemned on this account, English Masonry ought, on account of the solidarity of the Order all over the world, to fall under the same condemnation —however innocent it may be in itself. In short, all the reasons usually given hold good. But what we say is this:—If these other reasons do not appeal to you, we can leave them aside, and maintain our case on the first reason alone—viz. the fact that Freemasonry is the embodiment of indifferentism, therefore theologically antagonistic to the principles of the Catholic Church."

VIII.

THE DIFFERENCE AND THE CONNECTION.

Pursuing the comparison between English and Continental Freemasonry, there are two questions which call for attention: (1) Is there a difference; and if so, in what does it consist? (2) Is there a connection; and if so, does it amount to such solidarity as to bring English Masonry deservedly under the same condemnation?

THE DIFFERENCE.

With regard to the difference, we cannot do better than summarise an article from the *Southern Cross* (Dec. 2, 1910) which not merely states the difference but goes on to explain the reason of it:—

There can be no doubt that in the Latin countries of Europe, revolution, freemasonry, irreligion and immorality are allied in a war against the Catholic Church. So evident is this that many non-Catholics are not now concerned to deny the evil influence of Freemasonry in Latin lands. They declare, however, that British and Australian Freemasonry is quite a different thing from Continental Freemasonry, and ask how it is that Masonry is so much more aggressive, so much more openly athestic, in Catholic than in Protestent countries.

The reason is readily seen. In the countries which have embraced the principles of the Reformation the work of Freemasonry is already half accomplished. Its principles and its ritual meet with no strong opposition from the Protestant churches. Protestant clergymen actually belong to and act as chaplains of Masonic lodges, though the Masonic ritual is not even Christian.

As an influential Masonic review, the *Latomia*, has expressed it:—"From a religious point of view, Protestantism is one-half of Masonry. It, however, considers the essence of religion as a Divine revelation, and permits to reason only a vain attempt to give form to an object outside its domain. In Masonry, on the contrary, reason has to furnish not only the form, but the very substance of religion. At last Protestantism must either return to Catholicism, or stop in the middle of its course ; or ever progressing, end by adopting the Masonic religion. . . . . There is no medium between belief and disbelief, between being a Catholic or being an atheist."

We are free to admit that Freemasons generally in Australia and in Great Britain have displayed no special hostility to the Catholic Church and have even on

occasions shown kindness and good feeling towards the Church and its charitable institutions. But this fact can make no alteration in the principles on which the Church acts. Even if Freemasonry had never shown itself hostile to religion in Latin lands the Church is bound to condemn it.

The Catholic Church can never sanction its members belonging to a body which excludes belief in the Trinity and in a Redeemer, and which, moreover, sets up a rival ritual of its own. In addition, the Church is compelled to condemn Freemasonry because it is a secret society, whose members are bound by secret oaths. Hence Freemasonry and the Church are every where at war, and the war is especially bitter in Catholic countries.

THE CONNECTION.

With regard to the connection between English and Continental Freemasonry, the *New Zealand Tablet* of November 17th, 1910, sums up the two sides of the contention quite clearly. On the one side, it observes:—

(1) The Grand Lodge of England undoubtedly repudiated official connection with the Grand Orient of France when—in 1877—the latter adopted rank Atheism as its official creed. (2) The English Order—in an informal and decidedly unconvincing way—still disavows connection with the Brotherhood on the Continent. Thus the English *Freemason's Chronicle*, replying in a recent issue to some remarks of the London *Tablet's* Rome correspondent about the activity of Continental Freemasonry, after saying that charges made against Freemasonry as an enemy of the State should be regularly refuted, goes on to point out that—above all—'there would be the great difficulty of proving that the Freemasonry of the Con-

tinent is in any way allied to the ancient Brotherhood working in the British Isles, save in the matter of name; but no official recognition exists, and we of England cannot do more than repeat what has often been said before, that the Craft of Freemasonry—as we know and practise it—has no rivalry to any particular Church or form of religion, requiring only an expression of belief in a Supreme Being, and certainly has no sympathy with those who conspire against State or Government.' (3) It may be admitted that English and American Freemasonry wages no open war upon religion, and that there are great bodies of Freemasons in the lodges in these countries who are as far from the mind and spirit of their Continental *confreres* as pole is from pole. The same remark applies in general to men of high station and character who join the association. On the Continent, and presumably in English-speaking countries too, such men pass their lives in the lower degrees. So much at least we learn from the noted Paris Freemason, Louis Blanc. As another well known author puts it, 'they know no more of the real principles of Freemasonry than the figure-head of a ship knows about the steering.'

But having acknowledged so much, there are a few facts on the contra side which we do well to bear in mind. (*a*) The lodges of Belgium, Bohemia, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, India, and America owe their origin to England, at dates and in circumstances of which we have a record; (*b*) the Grand Lodge of England recognises the Grand Lodges of Berlin, Hamburg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Hungary, Greece, and the Ancient and Accepted Rite of France some of which are in open

war against the Church, and all of which are in communion with the French Grand Orient, despite the fact that it officially repudiates belief in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul; (*c*) the English Freemasons gave 'official recognition' to the Italian Brethren in 1875, as we learn from the following paragraph from the London *Times* of July 19, 1875:—"The announcement was made at the consecration of a new lodge, named after the Prince of Wales, at the Alexandra Palace, that his Royal Highness, the Grand Master of English Freemasons, had given official recognition to the Grand Orient of Italy; and the announcement was received with warm applause by the large body of eminent Freemasons assembled on the occasion;" (*d*) the English Freemasons have, so far as we are aware, never uttered a word of condemnation against the long and savage warfare waged by either their Italian or French or Spanish *confreres* against the Catholic Church, and, indeed, against all religion. The extent, in fine, of the difference between English and Continental Freemasonry in their attitude towards the Churches and Christianity has been very fairly stated in the following passage from a C. T. S. publication on the subject:—'There is a difference (between the English and the foreign Freemasonry) it is true, and it is this: the one ignores what the other hates; the English Freemason, clerical or otherwise, officially treats Christianity as sectarianism; the foreign, as a mischievous superstition. The unblinking eye of collective Freemasonry is united and identical, or it could not be, as it is, an international and universal brotherhood.'

Hence we find the Grand Master of English Masonry—the Duke of Connaught—in replying to ad-

dresses presented to him at Cape Town by Masonic brethren of various "Constitutions," referring "to the common brotherhood of Freemasons of every nationality and under all circumstances." Surely "every nationality" must include the French Grand Orient and the 1,300 foreign lodges that it controls. This seems to be another proof of the solidarity of Freemasonry all over the world.

A CLINCHING STATEMENT.

Most clinching however is the statement of an Ex-Grand Master—a M. Edward Quartier-la-Tente, —who directs the operations of a central office styled the "International Bureau of Masonic Relations." In 1908, writing in the name and with the authority of the Bureau to the regular groups of Universal Masonry, he delivered himself of the following statement :—"We have ascertained by a serious study of Masonry of its history in each country, of its rituals and its usages, as of its labours and organisations, that between all the Grand Orients and Grand Lodges, sprung from the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, there is a likeness in principles, symbols, customs and spirit, which demonstrates that all the regular Masonic Associations have come of the same origin, pursue substantially the same ends, and hold to the same aspirations. In all Masonic activity, wheresoever organised, there is a common stock of ideas, a likeness of forms which demonstrate identity of origin, and bear witness that all its adherents are of the same family."—*S. Cross*, December 2, 1910.

A REPUDIATION REPUDIATED.

It is difficult to imagine what further evidence is required to establish the solidarity of Freemasonry all over the world. One small cutting, however, may be

added, which knocks entirely on the head that favourite argument about the English repudiation of the Grand Orient of France. Such a repudiation, sincere enough no doubt thirty-five years ago, has by this time been relegated to the region of archeology. For in the *American Freemason* of February 1913 we are informed that the result of the meeting of the International Masonic Club, held in London on November 15, was the conclusion: '1. That the Grand Orient of France, with regard to religious tests, is much nearer to the original plan of Masonry, as set forth in the first Constitutions, than is the Grand Lodge of England. 2. That the French Masons are worthy men, doing a wonderful work for the cause of progress and enlightenment.' 'As a matter of fact,' continues the writer, 'French Freemasonry has ever since 1878 been steadily growing more intelligent and scholarly, more compact, more serene, more self-confident, more effective, and more elevated. At this day it is the model for all the world in respect to these qualities. There is no American jurisdiction that can compare with it.'—*N. Z. T.*, April 3, 1913.

IX.

FREEMASONRY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THAT Continental Freemasonry is the declared enemy of the Catholic Church is a fact so notorious that no fairly informed person can be expected to deny it. But the ground of principles on which that hostility rests is not as a rule so clearly defined, and may vary in various countries. We happen, however, to have gathered two declarations, one from Germany, the other from Switzerland, which go some way towards putting the anti-Catholic relation on a clear basis :—

SWITZERLAND.

The *American Freemason*, dated February 1913, published a summary of a circular letter sent out by a number of Freemasons who participated in the recent International Peace Congress at Geneva. The editor calls attention to the fact that 'it is signed first by Brother Maghalaes Lima, *Grand Master of Portuguese Masons, and one of the principles among those concerned in the deposition of royalty in his home country, and in establishment of the Lusitanian republic.* The circular is at once a warning and an appeal. It sets forth what are alleged to be the designs of the Roman Church—to make itself the supreme, even the sole authority, not only in things spiritual, but also in purely temporal affairs. These efforts, says the circular, are adapted to meet every situation : sometimes made openly, defiantly, brutally ; at others proceeding by methods hidden or plausible and Jesuitical. The

unceasing efforts of clericalism, continues the circular, have but one aim—to rehabilitate the Vatican as the seat of a world-power ; to elevate the papacy above all governments. After giving several recent illustrations of priestly intrigue, the framers of the circular call upon Freemasons of all countries to forget their differences that they may unitedly face the common danger. Craftsmen are urged to make such preparation that they may resist clericalism at every point. Only thus can the freedom of conscience, gained by past struggles and sacrifices, be preserved from the destroying hands of bigotry and intolerance.'—*N. Z. T.*, April 3, 1913.

GERMANY.

This declaration, which reminds one of the traditional Protestant "bogey" more than anything else, is not perhaps so illuminative as the following which comes from Germany :—

The *Bauhutte*, the principal Review of the German Freemasons, in its issue of March 31st, 1912, published a series of theses or maxims discussed and voted on at a Masonic Meeting held at Frankfort to consider the admission of Catholics into the order. The most important of the resolutions formulated were as follows :—

"1.—The Catholic Church is one and the same as Ultramontanism and Clericalism. Ultramontanism is the doctirne of the Church applied to life ; Clericalism is the guardian and champion consecrated by the Church.

2.—The Catholic Church is the irreconcilable foe of intellectual culture, that is to say, of civilization. It opposes progress, while Freemasonry favours it as a means of promoting and diffusing intellectual education.

3.—In the much controverted questions of education and human destiny there is open opposition between Freemasonry and the Catholic Church.

4.—If a believing Catholic cannot become a Freemason, it is not because any Lodge will refuse to admit him on account of his faith, for men of all beliefs are admitted; but it is because the laws of his Church forbid it.

5.—It is, nevertheless, true that no sincere Freemason can be a Catholic who can properly be regarded as such. For no Catholic can accept the idea of an emancipated humanity. His faith exacts from him the sacrifice of his intelligence.

6.—Every Catholic who aspires to be a Freemason ought to be warned, before being received, of the ecclesiastical censures with which his Church will strike him. After his reception he must be told that in order to rid himself and his family of annoyances on the part of the clergy, he must declare by his last will and testament that he is to renounce Christian burial. The following is the formula of such renunciation:

'Knowing the laws of the Catholic Church with regard to Freemasonry, I declare by these presents my firm will:

'(*a*) That at the approach of death I renounce the assistance of a Roman Catholic priest, as I do not wish to renounce my masonry, or violate my promises, or betray my brethren.

'(*b*) That after my death my obsequies shall be performed according to masonic usages, which, however, will not prevent my family from requesting the presence of a minister of any sect they may choose for their own spiritual comfort.'

7.—Freemasonry recognizes the moral and civilizing resources of the Catholic Church; nevertheless, it should not close its eyes to the general anti-social tendencies of that Church.

8.—Wherever the Catholic Church puts its ban on religious toleration, or crushes liberty of belief, and wherever it eliminates freedom of research in its effort to make ecclesiastical dogma the basis of all intellectual culture, Freemasonry should be its avowed enemy and combat it with the greatest vigour."

PANAMA.

The following sidelight from the opposite side of the world is taken from the columns of *America* :—

Freemasonry in Panama.— The organ of the Panama Masonic lodges, *El Nivel*, informs us that "the Masonic creed is in perfect antagonism with the Catholic creed," that "Masonry combats dogma," and that it "rejoices that the temporary president, Sir Mendoza, since succeeded by Sr. Arosemena, belongs to our grand institution of Masonry, and following the doctrine that it teaches, he will effect the happiness of the people of Panama."

ITALY.

Freemasonry has always claimed all the chief credit for the making of United Italy, and has always been the prime mover in all lines of Italian policy hostile to the Church. In former years the anti-religious programme of the craft was a concealed one; but the progress of irreligion in more recent times seems to have gradually rendered this reserve unnecessary. Thus "A traveller" writing to the Saturday Review in 1911, expressed himself as follows :—

The Italian Freemasons have followed the example of their French colleagues and have thrown of all re-

serve. They no longer make the slightest effort to conceal the object of their association, *i. e.*, the de-Christianisation of the Latin countries and the ruin of the religious idea throughout Europe. Signor Ferrari, Grand Master of the Craft in Italy, delivered himself of a speech at Bologna on Monday, February 6, on the occasion of the burial of Signor Golinelli, a popular anti-Clerical Freemason, who was at one time Mayor of Bologna. Signor Ferrari, after sneering at Christian funeral rites (the interment in question was purely secular), pronounced the following very significant words, which have created a profound sensation all over Italy: "Let us salute, without useless tears, the corpse of our friend which will soon be mingled with matter and return to the infinite, but not in spirit form, according to the dirty dogma of the Christians, which we (Freemasons) repudiate."

AGAINST THE VATICAN.

Among the various plans of campaign by which the war against the Catholic Church is carried out, the following is perhaps one of the most interesting:—

The *Unione* of Milan, dated January 22nd, 1911, contained the following: "On the initiation of the International Masonic Centre in Paris, a new International League has been formed. It is composed of prominent politicians, amongst whom are several Italians, and its object is to promote an agitation for the suppression of the diplomatic representation at the Vatican. The Masons have been engaged at this work for some time, but they hope to attain their end in the present year, 1911.

"The letter addressed from Paris to the members of the League explains how Italy, in order to avoid diplomatic complications which would be dangerous in

view of her still unsettled scheme of unity, is compelled to allow this representation as a mark of honour to the Pope. It is impossible to induce the Italian Government to act with energy because these diplomatic representatives have, as yet, all the political character and are consequently a continual menace to the integrity of the State.

"If the Italian Government still tolerates these enemies in her midst, the foreign Governments must be approached in order that they may decide to sweep away this rubbish of an antiquated past. This must be brought forward in Parliament; this must be put as an essential point in political programmes; this must be proclaimed as the object of the members of the League whenever they attain to power. France has been the first to give this glorious example. Portugal is moving in the same direction. In Spain the Leaguers are deploying all their forces to gain this final victory. The efforts of the League should now be turned to Germany, making use of the powerful double leverage afforded by Modernism and Protestantism.

"Such is the tenor of the document which the writer has before him, and in summarising which great discretion has to be used. It is a manuscript letter and has assumed a different shape in detail as sent to each individual, so as to secure the discovery of anyone who would disclose its contents to outsiders. The League counts at the present moment nearly one hundred members, all politicians of the first rank, twenty of whom are representatives of Italy."

This document is of the highest importance. It must be read carefully and its import fully grasped. In the first place, the unity of Italy planned by the Masons is not as complete and as solid as they would wish. The

Papal States were the great stumbling block, and by the spoliation of the Pope they went a long way towards removing this blot on unity. But as long as the Pope remains in Rome there is still an "imperium in imperio." The victory of Masonry is not complete. He must therefore be removed. The reader will note the words employed. "An act of energy" is required from the Italian Government, which simply means the seizure of the Vatican and consequent expulsion of the Pope. The first move must be to strip the Papal Court of the diplomatic representation. As the letter says, these ambassadors and representatives have their full political significance. Many of them represent Catholic Powers; all of them are within the influence of Catholic feeling, and it would be impossible to take that energetic step as long as they were present at the Vatican Court. The word has gone out, therefore, that "this rubbish of an antiquated past must be swept away."

The outlines of the agitation are marked out. Questions are to be asked in the various legislatures; the Masons are to work up this object as one of the points in their programme; and any of them that get into power are to work with all their might for this object.

Once the Pope is left unprotected to his foes, the next step will be easy. As Napoleon III said to the Masonic leaders when the robbery of the Papal States was projected, so the Grand Orient will say to its agents at Rome: "Frappez fort et frappez vite." —*C. T.*, Feb. 3, 1914.

X.

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE.

Although the strong anti-Catholic and anti-religious character of Continental Freemasonry is by this time pretty widely recognised, it will be more satisfying for our readers to see some detailed facts for themselves. It is a subject on which volumes have been written; so here in this short booklet we shall confine ourselves merely to a bundle of cuttings which we happen to have collected from the current press of the last few years, covering the range of several chief European countries. We begin with France.

AN ENGLISH VIEW.

A somewhat striking article appeared in the London *Standard* of February 27, 1913, on the 'Subversive aims of French Freemasonry.' The article is striking, not because its statements are new, but because they are true, and because it is new to get such facts from such a quarter. The article may almost be regarded as an historical event. It is—as far as we remember—the first occasion on which an English daily paper has printed so frank an *expose* of the evils of Freemasonry and so vindicated the attitude of the Holy See in condemning secret societies. The Paris correspondent—who sends the article in question—says: "The aim of the Grand Orient is to destroy all religion, beginning by stamping out Roman Catholicism in France; to pull down obnoxious thrones and establish a universal republic, but one, be it understood, where its own high priests should reign as dictators." And again:—"The 'Freres Trois Points'—as they are commonly called—are credited with all the revolutions of modern

times in France, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, Persia, and China. . . . The objects of the Grand Orient, symbolised by the three dots, were the liberation of humanity from religious, political, and social points of view."

Catholic France, however, has wakened up to realise the situation, and has taken the very best means for meeting the crisis in an effectual manner. The following account has been summarised from a couple of articles on the subject contributed to THE EXAMINER by Father T. Gavan Duffy in 1912 :—

I. THE ANTI-MASONIC ASSOCIATION.

Among the earliest and bravest of the many efforts by which the Catholics of France have re-acted against the irreligious influences that have brought their country to decay is that of the "*Association antimaconnique de France.*"

The association owes its first conception to the words by which Leo XIII, in his Encyclical *Humanum genus*, bids Catholics "tear off the mask behind which Freemasonry lies hidden and show it as it is." This invitation entered into the soul of one Abbé Tourmentin, and issued in an "Anti-masonic Committee" started in 1893. In 1902 the Committee was strong enough to secure legal recognition as "The Anti-masonic Association of France." Since that time the work has regularly brought its reports to the ears of the Catholic public, first in the national Catholic Congresses and later in its own.

From the reports read at the Congresses of 1909 and 1911 we may gather the scope of the Association :—

"Our end...is to study and make known by tongue and pen the philosophical, social and political influence of Freemasonry and kindred secret societies."

"To this end we have one only method, sure and scientific viz., the accumulation of documentary evidence. In order to expose the true nature of Freemasonry under whatever semblance it may be veiled; in order, further, to check its influence and counteract its plans, we have determined to bring to light the publications that it hides with the greatest care, the authentic reports of its most secret deliberations, and the names, however painstakingly concealed, of its adherents."

This programme has been actually achieved, by the following means:

First and foremost is the fortnightly review published by the Association and giving full accounts of all Masonic doings and schemings, with documentary evidence at the back of every statement. This review was started even before the present Association had come into existence; and it boasts that, at least under present management, it has neither been brought to book over any document nor failed to keep the world informed, month by month, of the most secret proceedings of the Lodges.

Tracts, pamphlets and books have been printed, culminating in the publication, in 1909, of a list, to be eventually brought to completion, of all the Freemasons of the country. The usefulness of this latter achievement will not escape those who realise how carefully many candidates to the public offices hide their Masonic initiation, and how fatal this is to the true fulfilment of the promises which they make at the time of the elections.

Lectures to working-men and others, public readings of papers on Masonic subjects, and reports at the Catholic Congresses, have formed part of the pro-

gramme. The paper read at the International Congress of Catholic Works in 1900, detailed all the plans of the secret societies against the Religious Orders, against the union of Church and State and against education. Many dioceses of France have a priest specially appointed to correspond with the Anti-masonic Association, and to receive from it all information affecting their interests.

Similarly the Association provides irrefutable documents to Catholic Members of the House and enables them to frustrate the most elaborate hypocrisy of their opponents; even the ambassadors of foreign powers have been known to receive due warning, the neglect of which, in the case of Portugal, resulted in the undoing of the Crown.

To add an object-lesson to all this theoretical instruction, the Association has turned its office, at Rue de Grenelle No. 42, into a museum, where the public may examine authentic specimens of all the Masonic vestments and furniture, of their pass-word leaflets and their threatening letters.

All this external activity has the support of a spiritual guild, known as the Crusade of Reparation, which is praying and working for the conversion of the Freemasons and the ruin of their "religion."

After having thus passed in review the Catholic forces which France has raised for the Anti-masonic campaign; let us consider what impression the documents published by the "Anti-masons" leave us of the adverse camp.

II. THE MASONIC SPIRIT.

Masonic and Anti-masonic literature reveals the fact that Freemasonry has a double element, a sort of body and soul, which essentially complete one another.

It is precisely this fact which makes the secret society so elusive and at the same time so fascinating. The first or spiritual element is that by which Freemasonry thinks to supply the place of a religion. The second or material element is that by which it launches out into active life and comes into opposition with the Church.

The spiritual element is made up of Masonic symbolism and ritual, secrecy, solidarity, and the inculcation of "an Ideal."

To be initiated to the "Apprenticeship" or promoted to "Mastership" through a series of most seriously performed, if utterly burlesque blindfold journeys round or over wisely placed obstacles; to wear henceforth such emblems as the square (for justice) or the level (for equality), or the various aprons (for the contempt of arbitrary prejudice); to assist periodically at meetings of the Brothers in symbolically draped Temples; before the Altar where sits the Venerable amidst a wealth of emblems, the mallet, the three-branched candlestick, the eye and the flaming sword; to see the chalice and the vestments and all the mimicry of cultus; habitually to call a plate "a tile," a letter "a board," a lamp "a star," and so with all the rest; to bear, perhaps, the title of Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, or the Great Inspector Inquisitor Commander; all this may be unthinkably childish in itself, and yet it may create around a soul that has never known the bracing contact of religion an atmosphere sufficiently penetrating to hold it captive until death.

Before entering the secret society the candidate cannot have failed to be aware of its great influence on the public imagination; in all probability he has shared the awe that the name of Freemasonry inspires. But when, at the initiation, he has taken such an oath as

the following: "I swear upon this blade, which is the symbol of honour, and upon the book of the law, to keep inviolate all the secrets which this Lodge shall confide to me as well as whatever I may see or hear therein"; and when he has added perhaps: "Rather would I have my throat cut and be buried in the sand where the ebb and tide may carry me away to eternal oblivion than betray this oath," it cannot be easy, even after the first shock at the slightness of the secrets in question, to escape a penetrating awe such as comes to all who feel the weight of some huge responsibility.

Just as one of the chief joys of a Catholic in his religion comes from the sight of the unity of the Church in every land, so to the Freemason the signs of recognition and the trust, not always justified however, in mutual aid, are strong attractions towards the society that stands to him in the place of a religion. Then the accounts read of the doings of the Brothers in all parts of the world, the mutal encouragement exchanged by the Lodges, the obvious unity of intention and the like, must have on the Freemason's soul something like the same bracing effect as missionary literature has on Catholics.

But now we come to the very essence of the "spirit of Freemasonry," to the intangible Ideal which raises this human structure almost to the dignity of a religion, though a false and suicidal one.

The candidate for admission among the Freemasons of France has to fill in a sheet of questions beside which the confessional and the Inquisition are mere child's-play. The simple reading of this list is enough to sicken one. It synthesises the loosening of every moral bond and the triumph of that freedom which regards law as its arch-enemy.

In the number for April 25th, 1911, of the review published by the Anti-masonic Associations, we find enough quotations from the "theologians" of Masonry to give us an idea of their doctrine :—

"Freemasonry has become the incarnation of free and self-governing Man ;" the truely Masonic soul feels "the Redeemer grow up within him "; " he is called to make real in himself the ideal of a Man-God." All this high language veils but thinly what an orator, bolder than his fellows, spoke at the annual general meeting of 1898 : "It is precisely because we are the elaborators of thought and the champions of universal brotherhood that we regard as our enemies all the ambitious and the selfish who wish to lord it over their equals and set up privilege and caste. For us Freemasons these men are irreconcilable foes whatever garb they wear, be they bearers of the toga or the cassock or the sword."

This Ideal, therefore, underlies the whole Masonic organisation, and gives it life ; even those among the Masons whose intelligence cannot rise to the study of the closer issues to which this spirit leads "feel confusedly around them the collective soul developing," and "contract with this collective soul (of Masonry) will henceforth guide them in their conduct."

Sufficiently convinced as we are by this time that there is a spirit and an evil spirit at work in the body against which the Anti-masonic Association has been founded, let us pass on further and examine how this spirit acts.

III. MASONIC ACTION.

There are at present in France four Rites or obediences of Freemasons, of which the "Grand Orient" is by far the most important in number and weight. As

all these forces are now at one, differing only in some points of form and ritual observance, an account of the constitution and doings of the "Grand Orient" alone will suffice.

The "Anti-masonic Manual" published last year gives the authority for every statement which follows:—

In the Constitutions of Freemasonry there are many articles for "show." Even the Supreme Being is brought in, but simply as an ornament. There is another article to this effect: "Masonic assemblies shall leave political questions aside." But an official organ of the Grand Orient contains the following: "There was a time when it was, if not the rule, at least the practice to declare that Masonry dealt neither with religion nor with politics. . . It was through fear of police-laws that we were compelled to hide what is the mission, the only mission of us all." Another Masonic paper calls upon members to "be citizens. . . but Freemasons *first*; candidate, municipal consellor, deputy, senator, president of the Republic *after*."

This at least hints that they are ambitious of high places—as indeed they must be if they have any hope of spreading the Masonic spirit. That they try, and succeed, in obtaining them for their friends appears from the following story taken from the "Bulletin" of the Grand Orient: "In 1885, on the day of the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, an uninitiated candidate named Chevillon met a member of the Lodge of *The Future* . . . who hinted that there would be more chance of his securing a seat if he were a Mason. "True," said Chevillon, "pity I didn't think of it sooner. Never too late to mend" . . So at five in the evening the *future deputy* Chevillon had received the three initial degrees."

He probably did not realise the slavery into which he had fallen. "The Convention of 1897 requires that all candidates who rely on the support of Masonry in the coming elections should deliver to the Venerable of their Lodge a signed declaration of their philosophical and political principles; these must be in accordance" with those of the Body as a whole. He must know what he is required to hold on these subjects; and he must live up to it under the threat that his Lodge will "take measures to prevent his candidature or at least his election."

But if he is a satisfactory subject, how will they help him? One method consists in "leavening" meetings of electors. At such a meeting there may be some twelve thousand electors, of whom many belong to the working-classes already so excited in France by social problems; the Freemasons will scatter some fifty or sixty of their number in the crowd; at the psychological moments these well-dressed and educated men will show every sign of approval, and by word and example carry on their neighbours to an ill-reasoned applause. The candidate may speak as softly as he wills on delicate questions; he may be a sneaking hypocrite who cares no whit for the interests which his speeches extol: provided the Masons are sure of his inner feelings they will support his every sentiment as he utters it, and so carry the crowd to favour him.

But once he is elected they have not done with him. "The active Masons who shall have been elected Senators or Deputies shall come together at the Grand Orient at least once in three months, so as to agree on the general interests of Masonry and those of the Republic." In an account of one of these meetings we read the following: "This meeting gave splendid

results. A considerable number of our Brothers from the Houses were present. Among the absent there were few who did not send a "board" asserting their attachment to the order . . . . The names of the few Brothers from the Houses who, though invited, did not appear nor send an excuse, are to be sent to their respective Lodges."

In the very Houses they are spied upon. The Masons wish "that a Commission be appointed . . . to follow diligently . . . the attitude and the votes of the Freemasons in Parliament; and "this commission should bring a report every three months, pointing out those members on whom it would be well to call the attention of the workshops."

And the end of it all is that "if Freemasonry will only get organised, not for theory but for the practical issues of which we speak, within ten years it will have carried all before it and no one will move in France outside our pale."

NOTE ON ENGLISH MASONRY.

(1) It may be worth while to add, for the English-speaking reader, the opinion of the Association on English Masonry :—

"English Freemasonry believes in solidarity only in so far as its personal ambitions may be advanced thereby. Its ambitions and those of the British empire are in close alliance. It has no need of the "International Bureau for Masonic Unity".... and cares little for "ententes cordiales" except such as reserve for it the (British) lion's share."

(2) Hence, when an address of sympathy from the "Orient of Paris " No. 137 under the obedience of the Grand Orient of France, was sent to the " Most Re-

spectable Grand Lodge of England," on the occasion of the death of King Edward VII. "Grand Protector of the Masonic Order in England," we cannot help comparing the enthusiastic overtures of the French document with the cold reserve of the English reply. The French document contained the following paragraph :—

"As our traditions demand that each *batterie de deuil* (resolution passed in a Lodge, here of mourning) be covered by a batterie of rejoicing, we have 'fired off' the present in honour of your Most Respectable Grand Lodge, of the Most Respectable Grand Master and Pro-Grand Master. *Although our mode of understanding and practising Freemasonry does not coincide in all points with the English conception and practice*, we are nevertheless on either side labourers in the same work of general progress, and we *fraternise* to-day by shedding sincere tears over the tomb of the enlightened Mason who has shown us the way to *concord, reciprocal esteem and mutual love.*"

The reply of the Grand Lodge of England carefully abstains from all allusion to these fervent expressions of solidarity, and merely says :—

"Dear Sir and *Brother*, I have been commanded by the Most Venerable Grand Master to request you kindly to convey to the Venerable Master and Brothers of your Lodge the grateful thanks of His Royal Highness and the Grand Lodge of England for the expression of our loyal and Brotherly sympathy, on the occasion of the irreparable loss sustained by Freemasonry through the lamented death of His late Majesty King Edward VII., Protector of the Order."

"I am, dear Sir and *Brother*, Fraternally Yours, E. Letchworth, Grand Secretary."

POLITICAL INTRIGUE.

An article in the *Nineteenth Century* for April 1910 opened with the following quotation :—

"Freemasonry is nothing more nor less than a political association. It not only occupies itself entirely with politics in its Annual Conventions, but it also organises political demonstrations, supports candidatures, assists the Government, intervenes in matters of administration, makes itself a substitute for the President of the Republic, recommends for all the civil and military posts by a provision of its Constitution, communicates officially with the President of the Council and the Ministers, sends addresses and receives replies. Such is the true part played by Freemasonry of the present day." The writer of the article then continues :—

"It is thus that *Le Temps*, on the 6th of January 1905, described and criticised the *rôle* of Freemasonry in France. *Le Temps*. . . . . has no attachment to religious ideals ; it is absolutely Republican, and no less resolutely rationalist and free-thinking. This judgment upon Freemasonry arose from a discussion between the *Temps* and the *Depeche* of Toulouse ; a paper also free-thinking and radical, and equally unlikely to accuse Freemasonry without sufficient motive or through excess of religious zeal. Like the *Temps*, the *Depeche* complained of the unlimited influence of the Masons. The dispute between the two free-thinking papers was over the question whether Freemasonry ought not to declare itself openly to be what it is in reality—a political association.

"Freemasonry prefers to be regarded as a society of simple philanthropists devoted to philosophical studies,

and it cherishes that article of its rules which gives it this character. The *Depeche* maintained that the hour had come to abandon such an absurd and misleading conception. It said that Masonry has an ancient habit of employing contradictory tactics, and that the same association, which in other countries, and even in France, affects to leave politics aside, is also capable of devoting itself entirely to politics."

"The *Temps* describes its double *rôle* thus :

"Freemasonry desires to remain an association of a secret and discreet nature. By the character of its rites and formularies it evades all control of the uninitiated, and all legal restrictions. Its aim is to be exclusively a political association, but without declaring itself to be such. Its secret methods enable it to enrol military officers in its ranks, and disarm the scruples of the Minister for War. It knows the danger of publicity and the advantages of obscurity. It works in the same way with regard to religious liberty and belief.

"The fact is indisputable, and yet when it is affirmed before an Englishman, a German, or an American, it is only with the greatest difficulty that he can be brought to admit it. As a matter of fact the Englishman, the German, or the American, has never, in his own country, found Freemasonry put forward such claims. They often are hardly aware of the presence of Freemasonry amongst them, or they have seen it represented by moderate, liberal-minded men, by philanthropists or men of philosophical mind. They cannot believe that the respectable association which in their country has such a reasonable and modest aspect can elsewhere appear as the instrument of the spirit of passionate, sectarian, and authoritative irreligion. They ask for

proof, convinced that valid and positive proofs can never be produced.

"Nevertheless, in France during the last ten years, these proofs have multiplied with extraordinary abundance. Freemasonry itself, sure of its strength, has produced them unhesitatingly, and continues to do so daily. Indeed, it is more or less obliged to do so in order to play the part it has assumed. The proofs are so numerous that a number of this Review would soon be filled by simply quoting them, without a word of comment, from the official declarations made in the Lodges. These declarations state that the aim of French Freemasonry is the destruction of all religion, the direction of politics, of the law, education, and legislation, and the influencing of political life in France. And it claims to have already realised a large part of this programme."

"The documents necessary to consider the matter are at every one's disposal. First, there are the Masonic papers and reviews which publish accounts of the sittings held in the Lodges, and give reports of the discussions and the text of the speeches. There are also the reports of the deliberations of the Annual Conventions." [End of quotation.]

The author then goes on to produce specimens of the evidence, taken from the Convention of 1902, and bearing on such questions on the suppression of 15,000 schools of the religious Congregations; the laicisation of the school, total state monopoly, and the removal of the religious element from the teaching.

Specially striking is the author's account of the *fiches méconniques* as furnishing an extraordinary example of the domineering spirit of the Lodges:—"This incident," he writes "was much talked of in the Chambers,

the Press, and the Army, and, indeed, all over France. A considerable number of deputies and senators had joined the ranks of the Freemasons. They wished to see the Army at their disposal, and, with this object, they began a great secret inquiry into the circumstances of the officers of the Army. The aim of the inquiry was to suppress one by one those officers who, by their character and independence, opposed, or might ever be likely to oppose, the introduction of the Masonic doctrines into the Army. The first step was to take possession of those in command, and to this end all means seemed justified. In the course of four years, 1900-1904, the Freemasons presented to the Grand Orient upwards of 25.000 notes (*fiches*), the results of their inquiries on the officers.

"Since 1902 and the Ministry of Combes, the Minister of War, General André, had supported the Freemasons in this work of denunciation, and for General André the conclusions of the shady spies of the Freemasons were decisive. Thirty years of military service without a stain, thirty years of bravery, of self-abnegation and discipline, vanished in the face of the two words which the Freemasons have ever abused—'Clerical, reactionary.'

"This is the enormity which M. Guyot de Villeneuve denounced to the whole of France in the historic Congress of the 28th of October 1904. He read a series of documents, which are registered in the *Journal Official*, and of which we will endeavour to show the character :—

"Brother Vadecard, Secrétaire General of the Grand Orient had been commissioned to request the Lodges to supply information concerning the officers of the various garrisons.

"Here is the text of the Masonic circular :—

Grand Orient of France, Supreme Council for France and the French Possessions. Paris : 20th July, 1901.

Most Dear Brother,—I should be much obliged if you could kindly put us in possession of the information with which the enclosed note is concerned. You would do us a great service in doing so. We should be very glad to receive the information before the 15th of October next.

"And the note added to each of the letters was this: We ask for very complete detailed information from the political and philosophical point of view on all the superior officers—generals, commanders, lieutenant-colonels, colonels of . . . .

"The information poured in from all the Lodges. Before the Chamber M. Guyot de Villeneuve read a number of documents, showing how the system of spies was organised around the officers ; the denunciatory evidence was centralised in Paris at the Ministry of War, and entrusted to Captain Mollin, under the control of General Percin, who was then Chief Secretary to the Ministry. Both the Captain and the General were Masons. The letters of Captain Mollin to the representative of the Lodges were written on official paper, and by the side of the printed heading, 'Ministere dc la Guerre, Cabinet du Ministre,' was the Masonic seal 'Grand Orient of France.'

"This produced a profound impression in the Chamber. M. Combes, then Prime Minister, was obliged to declare that the scheme was organised without his orders ; the majority of the deputies were indignant, and M. Barthou, now a Minister, exclaimed that the facts revealed from the Tribune were abominable.

"M. Maujan, the present Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, proposed the following 'Ordre du Jour':

" 'The Chamber censuring, if rightly understood, the inadmissable proceedings described from the Tribune, and, being convinced that the Minister of War will give in this case the necessary sanction, passes to the order of the day.'

"This resolution was supported by 278 votes as against 274. Amongst the deputies who thus repudiated the Masonic machinations were many Freemasons, and General Andre, the Minister of War, under whose authority the espionage had been organised, thought it advisable to accept the Order of the Day which censured it.

"The Masonic leaders, however, had not a moment's hesitation. Far from it, they gloried in the acts that had been revealed, and, lest the bad impression made upon the public should diminish the zeal of the Masons, the Grand Orient addressed to all the Lodges a circular, a regular manifesto, in which their leaders said:—

" 'We maintain in the name of all Freemasons that, in furnishing the Minister of War with information concerning the faithful servants of the Republic, and those who, by their hostile attitude, cause us most reasonable anxiety, the Grand Orient of France has exercised a lawful right, and has fulfilled an urgent duty.'

"The manifesto was dated the 2nd of November 1904.

" The free-thinking and Masonic deputies of the Republic, who had censured the system of *delation* were officially censured in their turn, and soon found that their own position was menaced.

"The manifesto wound up thus :—

"We desire to point out to our Lodges, and to all

Masons, present and future, that votes have been given in weakness, fear, and cowardice, by a certain number of Republicans, who at a moment when their duty was to offer resistance to unbridled reaction, joined their voices to those of our most bitter enemies. This recalls, alas, the weakness, the fear, and the cowardice of the darkest days of Boulangism and victorius Nationalism.

"The Republic, in spite of all, has once more conquered. Many, we hope, thus have time to pull themselves up. *Our Ateliers will meanwhile keep an eye upon them.*

"This manifesto was signed by M. Lafferre, Deputy and President of the Council of the Order; by M. Sincholle and M. J. B. Morin, Vice-Presidents, and by M. Bouley, Secretary, and was published in most of the daily papers without a single voice disputing its authenticity." [End of quotation.]

A SEVERE CHECK.

In 1911 Catholic opposition to Freemasonry in France received a strong reinforcement which should help to make the dangerous influence of the Lodges appreciated by the people. At a meeting of the Confederation of Labour composed principally of working men, "King" Pataud declared that Freemasonry was more dangerous than was generally known. Having told how the Freemasons of the different Lodges had received orders to place as many Masons as possible in the different Government offices, he pointed out that at present there were 40,000 officious spies at work to the detriment of forty million of people. To catch hold of their syndicates the Masons commenced by starting unions, trying to gain the mind and sympathies of the workmen, with the intention of diverting

them from their just aim. The men were inflamed against religion and Christianity in order to make them forget the sins of the capitalists and of the politicians who had promised them old-age pensions out of the spoils of the religious congregations. He mentioned several facts of masonic intervention in the syndicates, notably the correspondence between the secretary of the syndicate of the stenodactylographs and a venerable of the Masonic Lodge called "Charitable Friends" soliciting adherents. Thus the syndicates of the miners in the North of France were mostly monopolised by Freemasonry. In many other cases Freemasonry was at the bottom of the strikes, and a good many of the good class of working men were thus gained over to them. When a man in the audience sought to silence him with the gibe that he was talking "like a curé," Pataud replied amidst loud applause that he preferred a curé, whose life is known to all, and who wears his cassock publicly, to a Freemason who hides his apron.

As a result of this speech, the meeting passed a resolution which declared that having heard M. Pataud's exposure of the attempts of Freemasonry to attract the formidable syndicalistic movement newly started, "an attempt which, if it succeeded would quash the object of the movement, the struggle of the working man against the capitalist, and understanding and being made aware of the danger that Freemasonry will form workingmen's syndicates whose true description would be associations of malefactors, the meeting has decided to live in future on a food more substantial than Anticlericalism." Finally, militant syndicalists were exhorted to keep aloof of the Masonic Lodges, where they would only compromise themselves, and betray their

comrades to the detriment of a sacred, good cause. The passing of the resolution was hailed with loud cries of "Down with the secret influence of Masonry."—*Tablet*, April 22, 1911.

THE EFFECTS OF THE CHECK.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc, writing on the Catholic revival in France, bears witness that this reaction against Freemasonry was no passing incident. In the Catholic *World* of April 1914 he writes :—

"The break-up of Freemasonry came with surprising quickness, and was brought on as much as anything by the Dreyfus case. Its whole power consisted in France, of course, as it consists everywhere, in secrecy. To get people to believe that it is a mere friendly society—on its own unsupported word and in spite of the grossly immoral principle inherent in all secret societies—was, and is still in Protestant countries, its principal strength. The Dreyfus case blew all that sky-high. French Freemasonry then appeared in the eyes of all Frenchmen, however provincial or stupid, in the light of an anti-Catholic society, and no one could be so dull as not to note the way in which in proportion as Freemasonry was strong in any country, in that proportion was the violent campaign against the French army and the French Church supported. As always happens after a breakdown, events accelerated the failure of Freemasonry when it had once made this principal error. Its last attempt—a failure—to play its old role was in connection with the Ferrer case ; and now it may be said, with some truth, that the very name of this secret society has become ridiculous in the ears of most Frenchmen. Its ritual is exposed, its recruitment has fallen to a lower and a lower class of citizens ; its methods of conspiracy and

private spying are public property, and therefore have brought it into final and well deserved odium. A Catholic member of the French Parliament discovered one of those innumerable cases of general and secret spying, for which Freemasonry is organized, in the case of the army. He exposed the fact that the Masons had docketed and referred to a Masonic Minister at the War Office every officer who practised the Catholic religion. No better example of the power of Freemasonry in England, or of its breakdown in France, is to be found than the fact that such an iniquity was the one public matter in France and throughout most of the Continent for weeks, while the whole story was rigidly boycotted in the English press.

XI.

SOME OTHER COUNTRIES.

I. FREEMASONRY IN BELGIUM.

At the Catholic Congress held at Mechlin in 1910 a report was presented by the Count de Renesse Briedbach on the subject of the conflict between the Church and Freemasonry in Belgium. When the lecturer moved that the time had come for the formation of an anti-Masonic league, the proposition was received by the entire assembly with enthusiastic applause. The projected league has since been established, and has its head-quarters at 2, Rue du Cypres, Brussels. That this measure of self-defence was urgently called for, nobody can deny. Events within recent years have made it evident that Freemasonry is engaged in a

world-wide war against the Church. As a flourishing Catholic country, Belgium naturally occupied the attention of the craft. For thirty years and more, it has used every means to undermine the faith of that country, and it was high time that a systematic campaign of self-defence should be organised.

The programme of the newly-founded Anti-Masonic League started by establishing an information bureau. Its primary object was to supply the newspapers with authentic documents revealing the action of the lodges. For to oppose the schemes of the craft it is necessary to obtain possession of and to publish its official papers. An essay in this direction had already been made with brilliant results. During the short space of five months five hundred articles appeared in a few daily papers only, all based on documents emanating from the lodges. It was the success which attended these efforts that warranted the establishment of a permanent information bureau without further delay. Special correspondents are appointed in the principal towns to co-operate with the central committee in its industry of detection and denouncement. Lectures have been arranged, books and pamphlets edited, tracts and picture post-cards printed, a monthly Bulletin issued. Even an anti-Masonic museum is in process of formation. The leaders of the new crusade are three prominent laymen, Count de Renesse Breidbach, M. Valentin Brifàcet and Viscount Jean de Jonghe d'Ardoye.—*C. T.*, Jan. 6, 1911.

MASONRY AND THE BELGIAN ARMY.

The reaction against Freemasonry which we have already recorded in case of France, seems simultaneously to have taken place in Belgium :—

Early in 1913, during a debate on the system of military promotion, the question of the affiliation of army

officers to the Masonic lodges came up incidentally for discussion. So far back as 1846 a circular of the then Minister of War laid down that no officer was allowed to join a secret or political association ; and on various occasions since then the prohibition has been renewed by the highest military authority. But though the regulation was clear and precise, and Freemasonry was aimed at as coming under the prohibition, this direction was never enforced. A considerable number of officers became affiliated to the sect, while within the past few years an active propaganda has been carried on in the army to swell the roll of adherents. Aware of these facts, and recognising the danger likely to result, not only to military discipline, but also to the best interests of the country, the Minister of war recently issued a circular calling the attention of the army to the long standing prohibition, and notifying that the directions should be strictly followed. M. de Broqueville's circular was denounced by the socialist and Radical organs. A deputy who is a high dignitary of the Masonic fraternity demanded a categorical reply from M. de Broqueville, whether Freemasonry was one of the societies to which entrance was denied by his recent circular.

Masonic official documents in hand, M. de Broqueville made a lengthy statement in which he proved beyond yea or nay that Freemasonry is unquestionably a secret organisation, occupying itself with questions decidedly political, and with aims that no officer who is faithful to his oath of allegiance and to the duties he owes to his country can conscientiously approve. The circular lately issued did but insist on the prohibition of 1846 ; and this latter document, remarked the Minister, was evidently modelled on a similar regulation which

existed in France—a regulation which, by the way, has never been allowed to remain a dead letter. No later than September 1912, M. Millerand notified by circular that army officers were not permitted to join any association, political or other, without the previous consent of the Government.

That Freemasonry occupied itself actively with political questions, M. de Broqueville had no difficulty in showing by numerous citations from official documents emanating from the lodge. The Grand Orient, he said, discussed at length on one occasion "the fatal influence exercised by the Catholic chaplains amongst the military, and pronounced most emphatically against such an institution." Enlarging the matter of debate, it devoted an entire sitting to "the best means of conducting the anti-clerical Masonic propaganda." The passages are to be found in a report to the Grand Orient dated the 12th of the 12th month, 1910. The following is from the "Bulletin du Grand Orient de Belgique": "The Liberal Party is the profane expression of Freemasonry. . . . . The Liberal family is without compass and without guide. There is nobody, no institution which directs it: a direction must be given it. The experience of 1876 proved that if an understanding be possible between the leaders of Liberalism, it is in the bosom of Freemasonry such an understanding is to be arrived at. . . . . In Freemasonry the Liberal Party will find its guide and firm support. . . . The union of all Masons can alone assure the union of the various fractions which at present compose the great political party of which Freemasonry should be the advanced guard and the best guide. . . The alliance [of Liberals of different shades] was enthusiastically acclaimed, and war to the

death was officially declared against the Government—war without truce or mercy until the day when the Clerical Party shall be completely routed. . . We should not lose sight of the fact that Clericalism can only progress in the shadow of the Church.

"To destroy the Church is the aim which all should pursue who are interested in the emancipation and social amelioration of humanity." At one of the banquets of the Lodge an eminent Grand Master, after an urgent plea in favour of combined action, concluded by toasting "the approaching day when, by the union of all the Anticlerical forces, we may celebrate the overthrow of the Clerical Government."

Among other documents cited by M. de Broqueville was one bearing on affairs in Portugal. It showed that the Grand Orator at a meeting of the Grand Orient of Belgium expressed himself in the following terms: "Do you remember the profound feeling of pride we all experienced when we heard some time ago the news of the Portuguese revolution? In a few hours the throne was laid low, the people triumphant, the republic proclaimed. It was a thunderbolt for the uninitiated public. But we, my brothers, we knew. We were acquainted with the admirable organisation of the Lusitanian brethren, their indomitable proselytism, there persevering and tenacious activity. We were in the secret of that glorious event. The day that our unfortunate country shall be delivered from the tyranny that oppresses it, shall we have the satisfaction of saying that Belgian Masonry was the principal artisan of the national liberation." The Grand Orator who pronounce this harangue was the Socialist deputy, the Citizen Furnemont.—*C. T.*, Feb. 21, 1913.

II. FREEMASONRY IN ITALY.

THE reaction against Freemasonry, which we have already seen in France and Belgium, showed itself equally in Italy:—

Early in 1913, certain incidents of the Tripoli war happened to come to light, which showed that Freemasonry had been successfully made use of in the Italian army and navy to secure the rapid promotion of masonic members and to prevent that of non-mason officers.

Consequently in the month of May, 1913, the Italian Minister of War, General Spingardi, acting as well for the Naval Minister, and representing the Government, declared war against Freemasonry. Answering questions in the Senate, he said it was desirable and necessary that no one in the army or navy should be a member of a secret society. In both services the atmosphere ought to be one of brightness, freedom, and loyalty, so that the work might be performed with the requisite liberty and that duty might be discharged without any other motive, open or hidden, than because it was duty. The superior who would subject himself to an inferior simply because the latter held a higher grade in the secret hierarchy to which they both belonged, would betray his duty and prositute the dignity of his position in the army or the navy. His removal from the army or navy would be absolutely essential, as well as the removal of the superior official who, in giving or forwarding orders with regard to an inferior, obeyed a collective body rather than his own free conscience. Measures would be taken to prevent this happening; and whilst he held his post it might be taken for granted that he would never be induced to deviate from what he believed to be his sacred duty as

a citizen and a soldier by the influence of any association whatsoever.

This declaration was received with general approval by the Italian Press. "L'Esercito Italiano," the organ of military men in Italy, wrote :—"We are more than ever convinced that the incompatibility of the officers' presence at Masonic functions with the faithful discharge of his duties cannot be called in doubt, and that between Masonic and military discipline there must be a conflict." Other papers, Catholic and non-Catholic, voiced similar sentiments in even stronger terms.

The Rome correspondent of the *Times* observed "secret associations, notably Freemasonry, have played a very important part in Italy in the past; the Freemasons are still to-day believed to exercise a widespread influence in public life; that they should be publicly banned, without a single voice being raised in their defence, would show that their day of usefulness is recognized as ended, and that the confidence of the great mass of the public in its institutions, in the Throne, in the Army and Navy, in religion, has been strongly renewed. The statements of the two Ministers have only been emphasized by the Italian press, which warns officers against entering the ranks of Freemasons, and calls upon those who are already members of the association to leave it at once."

Most people in Rome fancied that the campaign opened against Freemasonry in Italy would die a natural death within a few weeks. Quite the contrary was the case. The Catholic Press was seconded by the organ of the Italian army and the respectable portion of the secular newspapers; and so vigorous were the denunciations of the secret society that public opinion in every part of the nation was thoroughly roused.

Mindful of the fact that four thousand officers of the Italian army and one thousand of the navy are Freemasons, the "Esercito Italiano" called upon military men to abandon the organisation. Offers of revelations as to Masonic doings reached the "Corriere d'Italia" from many quarters, and this journal chose Signor Pasquale Barreca, an ex-Mason, to relate the experiences he gained during the dozen or fifteen years of his life passed as a member of the masonic body. The "Associazione Nazionalista" denounced Freemasonry as "the most formidable and insidious enemy that Italy has," and answered the self-defence of Freemasons by challenging the secret sect to a public controversy. Indeed, so great was the change wrought in the mind of Italy against Freemasonry that the only voice raised in its favour was its own bombastic manifesto, where "lofty ideals, austere principles, and outspoken frankness" were prated about, to the amusement of the man in the street.

No further discussion on the subject occurred in the cabinet. But, says the Rome correspondent of the *Times*, "even as the matter stands, a salutary effect has been produced. Freemasonry has been officially discountenanced and discouraged in the military services, and the civil services are bound, sooner or later, to follow the lead given them. It has also been discredited in the eyes of the public, a result owing largely to its attempts at self-defence. That defence has been its own condemnation." The defence is the one with which we are so familiar, an appeal to Masonry's glorious past, its admirable secret aims for the advancement of civilisation and humanity, and a declaration that no one could attack it without allying himself with clericalism and the forces of reaction.

In reply to this, the *Times* correspondent says that " its utility, like its history, is a thing of the past. The work that it did then secretly can now be done openly. Secrecy, which is the essence of Freemasonry, only hinders and prejudices the progress that it professes to have at heart. There is absolutely no necessity for such secrecy in Italy to-day, when a man can profess any political convictions, or any religion, or want of religion, that he pleases. And to brand people as clerical because they disapprove of Freemasonry or any other secret society is to irritate a very large number of Liberals, Democrats, and even more advanced politicians, who have always held secret societies in detestation. . . . It is from the least clerical and most Liberal section of public opinion in Italy that the present attack upon Freemasonry has come." Suspicion has been aroused, by the way in which Freemasons carried out the duty of helping each other. As the correspondent puts it: "That is just what Italian Democracy feared and suspected. It has had a vision of promotion in the army, the navy, or public services in general, being subject sometimes to the dictates of a Freemason lodge; of decisions being given by judges and magistrates according to Freemason ruling; of unaccountable obstacles placed by Freemasons in the life of ordinary citizens: and against the reality of that vision it will rebel."—From the *C. Press*, July 24, 1913.

A few months later the *Idea Nazionale* organised a referendum on Freemasonry. It sent out to all the distinguished people in Italy in the political, literary and scientific world, the three following questions:— (1) "Do you think that the existence of a secret association like Freemasonry is compatible with the con-

ditions of public life to-day? (2) Do you think that materialistic rationalism and humanitarian and internationalistic ideology, the guiding spirit of Freemasonry, are in agreement with the living tendencies of contemporary thought? (3) Do you think that the hidden action of Freemasonry in Italian life, specially in military institutions, in the magistracy, in the schools, and in public administrations brings good (or harm) to the country?" The replies of many of the distinguished people, senators, deputies, professors, generals and admirals, were published; and the unanimous reply was an emphatic "No" to all three questions.

The subject was specially considered from the point of view of the services, in which Freemasonry is considered to be subversive of discipline, and of the administaration of justice, which runs the risk of being corrupted if members of a secret society are in high places on the judicial bench. The *Idea Nazionale* by its inquiry verified what was generally believed to be the verdict of the people, even including Socialists, regarding Freemasonry. (*C. T.*, May 23, June 6; *Tab.*, May 31, Aug. 26, 1913).

III. FREEMASONRY IN ARGENTINA.

The reaction against Freemasonry, already so strong in several European countires, has even spread to the new world. Thus a Brooklyn correspondent of *The Evening Sun*, writing in March 1914, observed:—

"In the short time of sixteen years the Masons have established in the Republic of Argentina 108 lodges, with 4,500 members. Happy with their lot, they believed they were strong enough to come out of their houses and demand official recognition from the gov-

ernment for the society. To this the Government replied very politely that it was not the rule to concede such a favour without a thorough investigation of the solicitor's request, and it was necessary to examine the constitution and by-laws of the Masonic order before proceeding with the official recognition.

"After a thorough investigation of the said constitution and by-laws the government refused officially to recognize the Masons, and for the following reasons :

"That the said society does not contribute in any way to the welfare of the republic but caters exclusively to the interest of its members ; is prejudicial to the citizens in general, and compels its members to combat the teaching of liberty with the idea of taking away the school from the church and religious communities ; therefore it is against the constitution of the republic."

But there are still certain countries in which so far Freemasonry is having its own way—for the simple reason that it has not yet been found out. We give three samples :—

IV. FREEMASONRY IN PORTUGAL.

The fact that the Revolution in Portugal was chiefly the work of the Freemasons is so notorious as hardly to call for proof. The following cuttings, therefore, will be sufficient :—

(1) The *Catholic Times*, writing at the time, informed us that "the reports from Portugal leave no doubt as to the part which the Masonic lodges have played in the revolution. The new Ministers all belong to the craft. They received their orders from superiors abroad whose object was not to promote the welfare of Portugal but to strike a blow

at Christianity. Portugal has long been in the grip of this secret society. A very large number of the members of the upper and middle classes belong to it, and the influence they exercise amongst the uneducated masses enabled them to pave the way for the adoption of the Masonic programme. The Government are following out the main lines of this programme, to the character of which Pope Leo XIII, called attention in his Encyclical of the 15th October, 1890. Religious instruction of every kind is to be abolished in the schools. The young are to be withdrawn from clerical control or supervision. The Government, which has abjured religion, is to form the minds of the citizens. All religious corporations are to be suppressed and their property is to be confiscated. Monks and nuns are not to be allowed to reside in the country. The institutions which they have conducted are to be completely laicised. The word of command has gone forth that in every respect the Portuguese Ministers must regard the policy of the French Government as their model."

(2) Early in 1911 *Rome* wrote :—

A few days ago Senhor Magalhaes Lima, Grand Master of Portuguese Freemasonry and of that Provisional Government which is an insult to the whole civilised world, was the object of a manifestation organised by the Lodges. Bernardino Machado, one of the Ministers, was present at it as official representative of the Government ; and in the course of his speech he did not hesitate to say, as reported by the Republican paper *O Mundo :* "The fraternal union of the Government and Freemasonry will always continue, as before the Revolution, because it is in the "temple," that the Government will always find the most virile

spirits and the most disinterested fighters. From Freemasonry has come the triumphant revolution, and in it are to be found the elements capable of defending the work to which they have so powerfully contributed. It is impossible to forget the important part played by Freemasonry in the revolution. We give a proof of our esteem for the Masonic Order by embracing, in the name of the Government, the Grand Master Senhor Magalhaes Lima."

(3) On May 1st, 1912, *The Times of India* wrote as follows :—

We commend to the notice of the many in Bombay who claim to be of Portuguese descent an article in the April number of "The Oxford and Cambridge Review" called "Freemasonry v. Christianity." The author is general secretary of the French Anti-Masonic League and his views may on that account be thought to be grossly partial ; but the Editor of the Review explains that the article is the first of a series designed without prejudice to show the true facts of what is now called "Masonry" on the Continent. "Englishmen," he says, "for the most part are unaware of the "extent to which the Masonic lodges affiliated to the "Grand Orient of Paris, which was excommunicated by "English Masonry in the forties for eliminating from "its formularies all mention of the Supreme Being, "have become in practice atheistic organisations." The author of the article, M. Flavien Brenier, first shows how the Portuguese Freemasons reorganised the Carbonari, the secret society which had played a very active part in the Portuguese civil wars of 1820-1835, in order to prepare the downfall of the monarchy. He goes on to show what sort of treatment the Carbonari are now meting out to political prisoners in Portugal.

"Save in certain Oriental prisons it would be difficult "to parallel the inhuman treatment meted out by the "gaolers of the Portuguese Republic to the innocent "prisoners with whom the prisons are choked." It is an appalling indictment, capable it would seem of being supported by documentary evidence. Of course the facts will be officially denied, but they convey an air of truth to those who have watched the failure of republicanism in Portugal that will not be dispelled by any hasty *dementi*.

[See also the last paragraph under *Freemasonry in Belgium*.]

V. FREEMASONRY IN HUNGARY.

In 1913 the Berlin correspondent of the *Irish World* called attention to a series of articles of the Hungarian Deputy, Karl Husar, appearing in a well-known and influential German paper, that were attracting universal attention. They give some idea of the campaign pursued by the Freemasons in the country of the Maygars. The Lodges are working there with all their strength for the overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of a Republic. And this only as a means to the realisation of their publicly pronounced end, *viz.*, the overthrow of the Catholic Church, and the wiping out of the Christian religion and all belief in the supernatural. They had already established a daily paper, the "Bilag" or "World," and actually secured in the foundation of this paper a Government subsidy. Through this paper the Masonic Deputies, and Monist and Agnostic writers carried on an active propaganda. In close touch with it was a political society clamouring for what it calls reform and putting forward as the first plank of its programme

a demand for the secularisation of all church property. Just as in France, where the bait of the alleged milliard was dangled before the eyes of the people, they were in Hungary talking of the great benefits that are to come to the workers and the landless when religious have been expelled from their churches and schools, asylums and hospitals, and the money acruing from the sale of such properties is used for the benefit of the people.

The writer of the articles referred to pointed out that the Masonic party was beginning, as in France, with the schools. They had already succeeded in driving Baron Bartoczy from that section of the Public Worship Office which deals with the middle schools. The Baron is the Protector of the Marist Congregation in Hungary, and has proved himself on more than one occasion the protector of these zealous men in very deed. He became, therefore, a marked man, and the secret plotters, ever on the watch, seized on the first opportunity that offered and forced him out of the office where he saw that the Marists received the fair treatment guaranteed them by Hungarian law. They next called out in Parliament for the expulsion of the Marists from the Hungarian kingdom, but the Catholic Deputies were aroused and succeeded in defeating them for the time, at least. The Deputy Huszar, however, thinks that Hungary is on the verge of a new Kulturkampf. It will begin with the schools, and the fight will be a big one since there are in Hungary only 3,000 interconfessional State schools as against 12,075 Confessional schools. Of these latter 7,000 are Catholics, 3,000 belong to the Protestants, 430 to the Jews, and 1,457 are Orthodox Greek. The Masons plead to have all these schools "mixed," of

which there are only 1,000 at present. Such a decision would naturally eventually destroy the religious character of all the schools; and this is just what is wanted. Already the Catholics are arranging to fight this design, and organisations of parents are being formed in the various districts affected.

VI. FREEMASONRY IN TURKEY.

In 1912 the "Oxford and Cambridge Review" gave some astonishing information about "Freemasonry in Turkey" from the pen of Flavian Brenier, General Secretary of the French Anti-Masonic League. The Masonic Society professes to be open to all believers in the existence of God, and it seems to have made considerable progress among the Turks. It was introduced originally into that country by English merchants. In 1859 Freemasons were concerned in a conspiracy against the life of the Sultan. The next Sultan, Abdul Aziz, however, was friendly to them. "He showed," says our author, "a genuine desire to regenerate his empire by the adoption of European institutions, and to this end surrounded himself with Ministers and high officials belonging to the Masonic Order, little suspecting that these same men would undermine the very foundations of his civil and religious authority. Typical of this class of Masonic statesmen was Midhat Pasha, whom he appointed in the first place Governor of Bulgaria, then Minister, and finally Grand Vizier. This man was destined to end by imbruing his hands in his master's blood. The practical result of Abdul Aziz's reign was to place Turkey in the hands of the Turkish lodges, that is to say in the power of less than three hundred persons, for the total number of Masons in the Ottoman dominions did not exceed that figure."

This Masonic tyranny aimed at restricting liberty of religious belief and practice, the Mohammedan religion included. "The dreams harboured by one section of the Turkish Masonic community far outstripped the anti-religious policy which they found possible to force upon Abdul Aziz. They aimed at no less a thing than the establishment of an atheistic Republic, by means of which a mere handful of obscure tyrants would have been enabled to impose their oppressive yoke upon all the races and religions comprised within the empire. The Masonic committee, reflecting these views, was engaged in close correspondence with the most advanced faction of European Carbonarism, *viz.*, the 'Young Europe,' founded by Mazzini, and after assuming the title of 'Young Turkey,' itself formed a unit in the general system devised by Mazzini." The most active worker on this committee was a Roumanian, Canesco. He won over a disaffected Prince Mustapha, and induced him to place the whole of his immense wealth at the disposal of "Young Turkey."

This society then (1867) began to dominate the affairs of the nation, and all the officials appointed in its constitution were freemasons. As their plan was to overthrow the reigning Sultan, to make way for his Masonic nephew, the former proceeded to take vigorous measures against the conspirators. Nevertheless "although he thus took up the gauntlet thrown down by the most advanced section of Turkish Freemasonry, the Sultan continued to surround himself with Masons like Ali Pasha, Fuad Pasha, and Midhat Pasha, whose apparent loyalism did not go far to compensate for their perverted policy. Amongst the chief benefits he derived from them were the creation of a large number of lay schools, the object of which was to spread athe-

ism in the most religious empire in the world, and a series of persecutory attacks upon the Christian communities, the result of which was to compel them to furnish themselves with weapons of defence. Thanks also to their costly and useless aping of Western institutions, the Sultan found the financial condition of his dominions brought well nigh to utter ruin." This ruin was consummated under the presidency of the Mason Prince Mustaphas, aforementioned. In 1876 the Sultan was forced by the Young Turks to abdicate, and shortly afterwards he was found dead in his room. The crime, as was proved later, had been committed by order of the three principal Masonic Ministers. The new Sultan Murad was an obedient instrument in the hands of the Turkish Freemasons, but, unfortunately for them, he soon went mad. He was, therefore, deposed, and Abdool Hamid II. his brother, who professed the liveliest sympathy with his uncle's murderers and their policy, reigned in his stead.

VII. FREEMASONRY IN MEXICO.

From *America*, Oct. 24, 1914.

The part played by Masonry in the persecution of the Church in Mexico, as previously in Portugal and France, is a fact well established. That all these actions were apparently but the execution of a complete programme formally drawn up for all the Latin-American countries may not be so well known. The expulsion of religious Orders, the attacks upon the confessional and the Sacraments, the enforced secularization of the schools and similar measures intended to prepare for the final and complete destruction of the Catholic Church are all definite Masonic ordinations enjoined upon the brotherhood. Political agitation is to be carried on everywhere

for this purpose. Those not willing to conform to this spirit of anti-Christianity, which is the ultimate expression of Masonic principles, shall be "liable to the most severe penalties of the Masonic law." Such are the regulations drawn up in the resolutions of the first General Congress of Latin-American Masonry, held at Buenos Aires in 1906. From the publication of the Central Verein, "Freemasonry and Christianity," we quote the following extracts originally taken from the tenth number of the Masonic journal of Caracas :

RESOLUTIONS.

5. Latin-American Masonry shall combat by every means in its power the clerical propaganda and the establishment and development of religious congregations, combining efforts to secure their expulsion from these countries. To effect this : (*a*) Freemasons shall not have their children educated in colleges managed by religious bodies. (*b*) Freemasons shall use their influence to dissuade their wives and prohibit their children from going to confession to a priest. (*c*) Freemasons shall not contribute in any way to the support of the religious bodies and their chapels.

6. Freemasons shall strive to enlist members of political parties who may defend their ideals and undertake to vote for the separation of Church and State, the expulsion of the religious congregations, civil inquiry, civil marriage and divorce, purely secular education, lay nurses in the hospitals, the suppression of the military chaplains, and other clerical laws.

7. Every Mason shall be bound to act in the profane world in accordance with the principles of Freemasonry ; those who violate this code of honour being liable to the most severe penalties of the Masonic law.

10. Freemasonry shall strive to secure the withdrawal from the Vatican of the representatives of Governments, these not acknowledging the Papacy as an international power.

Throughout all the Latin-American countries this work has been systematically carried out. Beginning with the attempt to withdraw the wives and children of the brotherhood from the Church, Masonry ultimately contemplates depriving the Church of influence in schools, in the army, in hospitals and in institutions of every kind, finally wrecking its very altars when the time shall be ripe for universal proscription. This plan has been carried far forward in France, where even now the Catholic clergy, though called to the firing line of the army, are not officially acknowledged in their priestly capacity. The programme was executed in Portugal, and now the last stages of its fulfilment are witnessed in Mexico amid scenes of horrid, unspeakable carnage, lust, ribaldry and blasphemy.

VIII. FREEMASONRY AND THE WAR OF 1870.

BY MRS. C. E. JEFFERY.

A FEW days ago I happened to come across an article from *La Libre Parole* which I had cut out some years back at the time (now apparently forgotten) when the subject of International Freemasonry and its evil influence on modern politics was on the tapis. It was at the time when the Freemasons of Portugal had effected their successful coup, and the new Republic triumphantly established by murder and treachery was strenuously engaged in moulding itself on a greater Republic whose anti-clerical policy it was taking for a model.

We are now ourselves engaged in a life and death struggle for our existence as a nation ; so the *Time* tells

us ; and are apparently surrounded by a swarm of spies who communicate to the enemy information the most intimate and minute concerning the movements of our troops, and more particularly of our fleet, and the secret passages through the mine fields laid down for the protection of our coasts. I therefore believe that the warning to be gathered from this cutting from *La Libre Parole* comes a propos, and it carries the more weight because it comes in a letter written by the great Russian statesman, M. de Giers, whose name is very much to the fore now. The letter was addressed to a French journalists, M. de la Rive, confirming a conversation held many years before in a certain salon on a subject which was occupying the attention of all the world at that time, *viz.*, the causes of the French defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1870-1871—M. de Giers being at that time Ambassador at Stockholm.

"I would not," wrote M. de Giers, "have been the first to raise this delicate question, but as it has been already suggested, I can assure you I am well aware of the rôle which Freemasonry has played in this war (Franco-Prussian). I was then accredited to Berne, and in this town there existed an agency perfectly organised and acting with a precision entirely Prussian, for the obtaining of information concerning the French army, their strength, disposition, the amount of their munitions of war, provisions, etc., etc., with thousands of other particulars, all the most detailed and minute, which the French officers affiliated to Freemasonry communicated to the lodges ; and this information was transmitted with extraordinary rapidity by despatches sent to the Prussian Masonic agency at Berne. I have devoted deep study to this colossal organisation in order to present a detailed report to my Government. It is

unbelievable, is it not? Nevertheless nothing is truer or of more thrilling interest. The French nation had been condemned beforehand by international Freemasonry, and neither the best military organisation or strategical talent, nor the incontestable bravery of the troops would have enabled the French army to triumph. It was a combat of the blind against those who see."

FREEMASONRY AND THE GREAT WAR OF 1914.

(From the *Catholic Herald of India*, Nov. 4, 1914.)

An incident of the War is now making the tour of the English newspapers, which is reported to show "the practical value" of Freemasonry. At the time of the sack of Louvain, it is said, the Germans seized 50 men whom they bound and told they were going to be shot. The firing party had already raised their rifles to take aim when one of the fifty, a Freemason, made one of the Masonic signs. The German officer in command of the squad was himself a Freemason; and just as he was going to give the order to fire he saw the sign and recognised a "brother." He at once ordered the Freemason to leave the rank and told him to go away. "No," replied the citizen of Louvain. "My fellow-citizens are no more guilty than I am. If you are going to kill them I shall not go away and I shall be killed with them." Touched by the act of devotion the officer ordered the release of the fifty unfortunate men who thus owed their lives to the intervention of a Freemason fellow-citizen.

What would have happened if the fifty men had been soldiers surprised and surrounded? Would the Masonic sign have saved them all, or even the one who made it? It is strange that in nearly every war a story to the same effect has been reported—in the Boer War, at least, and

in the Franco-German War. Alison, besides, in his "History of Europe" (Vol. X. Chap. 46) gives two other instances. At the time of the Boer War the following appeared in an English newspaper :—

"The practical value of Freemasonry in time of need has been proved over and over again. A contributor writes as follows :—

"During the present war, the tie of the Brotherhood has been recognised both by Boer and Englishman. A colonel of a Canadian regiment at the Modder River, on a Sunday morning stroll, strayed too far from his camp, when he suddenly found himself covered by the rifle of a Boer. By a fortunate impulse he made the customary sign, and cried out, 'Don't shoot'—the Boer immediately threw down his rifle and hurried to the colonel, informing him that he belonged to 'de broederband in Pretoria,' and was a member of General Cronje's staff. He begged him to return at once to his camp, and made him accept a valuable coin as a souvenir of his escape."

Freemasonry praises such conduct, but the unsophisticated patriot reprobates it. If the Masonic rifle must drop before a Masonic enemy, what becomes of the duty of a loyal soldier ? "The duty of a faithful subject of a State at war," correctly remarks the writer of "Catholics and Freemasonry" (C. T. S.) "is to kill, disable or capture his country's enemy ; war exists for this end. By what right does he forego his country's interest at the call of Masonry ? It may be said that individual action is unimportant, but in certain cases it may prove of very great importance."

Commenting on the fact we have just reproduced about the Canadian colonel, the same writer says :— "Put the case the other way and suppose the Canadian officer to have been Christian De Wet, who is said

to be a Freemason. The 'profane' Englishman would have ignored his Masonic gesticulations and have shot him, or taken him prisoner without a moment's hesitation. The Masonic Englishman, if duly challenged, must have responded to the sign, and acted much as the traitorous Boer did—sacrifice the interest of his country at the call of Freemasonry, or act contrary to the precepts of the Craft."

FREEMASONIC BROTHERHOOD IN THE TRENCHES.

(From the *Month*, 1916).

"At a time when friendly intercourse with the enemy in the field is necessarily unpatriotic and, indeed, is a military offence, it is strange that the military authorities should sanction the issue to soldiers who are Freemasons of cards testifying to membership of that association and printed in English, French, Italian, *German and Turkish*. Of course, one object may be to secure, if possible, humane treatment for prisoners of war, but it seems to us an evil precedent, and one very likely to be abused to the detriment of military discipline. Although British Freemasonry has never developed, as far as we are aware, the anti-Christian and atheistic spirit which animates the lodges abroad, and in some cases has officially repudiated them, still in its essence it is opposed to true citizenship, as being a secret and artificial association, and it is notoriously responsible for much abuse of influence in the State services. That in France the influence of Masonry, under M. Combes and General André, nearly ruined the Army is now a matter of open knowledge. One has only to read the able exposure of that past nefarious campaign as further illustrated by the present state of

our Ally's gallant Army, in the March issue of *Studies*, to realize the inadvisability of our military authorities giving any official countenance to Masonry amongst our forces. *The Times*' report says that the idea of issuing these cards came from Canada, which renders the whole proceeding more suspicious still, for Canada is the home of a particularly virulent type of Masonry closely akin to the Continental variety. Every one can see that military discipline would be endangered if, for instance, soldiers who are members of the British Section of the International Socialist Movement were provided with cards, "printed in English, French, Italian, German and Turkish, vouching for their membership and asking for kindly treatment" at the hands of their brethren abroad. It seems to us that the official recognition of International Freemasonry constitutes an even greater danger."

The text of these cards was more fully reproduced in the *New Zealand Tablet*, January 11th, 1917 :- -

A recent issue of the *Daily Sketch*, an English paper, contianed the following interesting paragraph : 'A Canadian major showed me a rather remarkable document the other day. It was a tripartite, as the lawyers say. It set forth in French, English and German that Major So-and-so was a British officer, and if he fell into the hands of any German brother all courtesies were to be extended to him and all needful expenditures made on his behalf, in the sacred name of the Brotherhood, or words to that effect. The gallant major stoutly maintained that this paper would not only save him from ill-treatment if he was captured, but would ensure that he did not go in lack of anything he asked for.'

No doubt the gallant major had excellent authority for his conviction; which authority, is contained in

point of fact in a 'peculiar notice' which was published some time ago in selected papers, and which appears to have some official sanction. It runs thus :—'Freemasons serving with the forces abroad may now be supplied, by permission of the Military and Masonic authorities, with a card printed in English, French, Italian, German, and Turkish, vouching for their Masonic membership, and asking for kindly treatment at the hands of any Freemasons with whom they may come in contact. The cards are issued by the Charter-house Lodge, by special permission of the Grand Lodge of England, upon the production of the necessary authority. The idea was suggested to them by the Canadian Freemasons serving with the forces, who are supplied with similiar vouchers by the Canadian Grand Lodges.'

A MASONIC SPLIT.

(From the *Month*, 1916).

Whatever may be the nature of the tie that binds the Masonic brotherhood together, that tie has definitely snapped under the strain of the present European conflict. During the Boer campaign of 1900-1901 all sorts of stories were in circulation narrating how on this or that occasion the loyalty of British officers was compromised by their allegiance to the Craft. I may confess that I am doubtful as to the truth of these stories, and still more as to the truth of those other anecdotes which describe how an accused in the dock by using a Masonic sign has made a successful appeal for lenient treatment to the judge, a brother Mason, who was trying the case. Whether there be any foundation for gossip of this kind or not, it is certain that the solidarity of Freemasonry as an international organization has now completely broken down. Patriotism weighs more than

any artificial bond of fellowship, however much cemented by oaths or community of aims. The fact may be commended to the notice of those who attribute to Freemasonry an almost infinite power of mischief. The Church is no doubt fully justified in looking upon the Craft, as it has developed among the Latin races of the Continent, as a relentless and a most formidable foe, but there are limits beyond which it cannot go. Before the war the French Freemasons of the Grand Orient seem to have been committed to something very like Pacifism, but they could neither hold back their countrymen when the crisis came, nor could they, in spite of all their efforts, make any impression upon the Grand Lodges of Prussia during the period immediately preceding the war. Upon this a word may be said later, but for the moment I wish to insist upon the extent and completeness of the schism which the war has caused. In December, 1915, Colonel C. E. Cassal, speaking before the Board of General Purposes of the United Grand Lodge, informed his hearers, documents in hand :

"German Masonic papers have been full of articles relating to English Freemasonry. . . . They consist of scurrilous attacks not only upon England but upon English Freemasonry, and scurrillous attacks upon our Grand Master, our Pro-Grand Master and the leaders of Freemasonry in England. They are a disgrace to any form of Masonry whatever."

In the course of the same discussion the President of the Board of General Purposes, Mr. Alfred Robbins, stated in the most formal and official terms :

"From the day the war broke out we have altogether ceased communication, direct or indirect, with any Grand Lodge in an enemy country. Only one attempt, and that indirect, had been made in the whole of that

period to approach us by such a Grand Lodge, and that was not a German Grand Lodge; and that indirect attempt, made through the Grand Lodge of a neutral country, was to ask our investigation of the British system of dealing with prisoners of war and thus by implication to attack it. We declined absolutely . . . to be drawn into controversy or correspondence of any kind, direct or indirect, with the Grand Lodge of an enemy country."

No one who studies the pages of the accredited organs of Masonic opinion in the United Kingdom can entertain any serious doubt that these statements are in strict accordance with the facts. In the earlier part of the year 1915 a rather heated discussion had taken place in the same assembly over the question of the exclusion from the English Lodges of all brothers of the Craft who had been born in an enemy country, whether naturalised or not. In spite of some opposition, clearly voiced by the editor of the Leading Masonic journal, the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. Even a proviso exempting from this disability those members of an English Lodge who had sons fighting on the side of the Allies was rejected. The main facts connected with the dispute were announced in *The Times* under circumstances which some brethren apparently considered to be hardly reconcilable with the proper observance of the Masonic pledge of secrecy. Still later in the year more drastic propositions were introduced and, I believe, ultimately carried, which prescribed in the case of Freemasons of enemy birth not merely suspension from the meetings for the period of the war, but permanent and final exclusion except in the case where an unanimous vote of the Lodge pronounced for their retention on the roll.

A well known English representative of the Craft, writing more than a year ago in the *American Freemason*, remarks:—

"I may remind my readers that those Grand Lodges which are officially recognised by the Grand Lodge of England—and without which recognition English Freemasons are not allowed to admit into their Lodges Brethren of other countries—are contained in the Official Year Book issued annually by our Grand Lodge. Now it must be a matter of grave thought for the future . . . . that not one of our Allies are joined with us in the bonds of Masonic Brotherhood, except France to a very slight extent, and Italy. Neither Russian, Serbian, nor Belgian Freemasons are at present allowed in our Lodges, and speedily our Grand Lodge must awake to this almost perilous state of things and the energies of our diplomatists in Freemasonry must be aroused to inquire fully into the causes of this and find a way to a thorough *rapprochement*."

Here are some remarks contributed to *The Freemason* by a well known Masonic writer, Mr. Churchward :

"The Germans have by their action thrown over the last ties of the laws of our Brotherhood and must therefore be treated as a renegade faction. They have not upheld, supported or acted as Brother Masons should have done according to the acknowledged laws of our Brotherhood ; and should therefore for the present and in the future not be acknowledged as Brother Masons in any form or way. . . . They have not striven for peace ; on the contrary led by their Grand Lodge they entered into the political arena, broke of relationship with their French Brothers, and therefore placed themselves entirely outside the Fraternity. By their own action they have broken the Sacred Masonic laws and

are no longer Brothers according to our Constitution; and should never be admitted into our Lodges again or acknowledged as belonging to the Brotherhood.

The German Masons on their part seem to have expressed themselves in language not less uncompromising, and in particular they have fiercely denounced the machinations of the Italian Lodges, which they hold to be mainly responsible for the entry of Italy into the war on the side of the Allies.

XII.

MASONRY'S WEAK POINT.

If asked to put a finger on the strong point of Freemasonry—the feature, I mean, which best accounts for its popularity and for the vast number of men who join it—most people, I imagine, would probably fix on its principle of mutual service; *viz.*, the fact that a Mason, under all circumstances of life, can by use of his secret sign secure recognition and claim brotherly help. This certainly seems to be the attraction which tells on Catholics; who, when taken to task for joining Freemasonry, almost invariably reply: "Father, I could not help it. Freemasonry is the key to success. Unless I am a Freemason I have practically no chance in life." And often enough he will go on to prove his point: "In this department (Civil Service, Railway, Army or whatever it may be) such and such officers are Freemasons; and under them all the employments, all the favours, all the promotions go to Freemasons." One of the first questions they ask is: Are you a Mason; and if you answer: "No," your prospects are gone. He will then perhaps go on to give instances:—"Take *So and so*—one of the steadiest and cleverest

and most popular men in the whole service. By rights his turn for promotion came three years ago. And yet four other men, not half so good as he, have walked up over his head; and there he remains at the bottom of the ladder, simply because he is a Catholic and *not* a Freemason. Another time it will be a shopkeeper, formerly subscrub in a large firm, who left and set up for himself. Being a Freemason, he simply went round to all the customers of the old firm, and said "I am a Mason, while my boss is not. I am opening a new shop of my own; and I expect you, *as a brother Mason*, to transfer your custom from him to me." The result was ruin to the original firm, and marked prosperity to the new one.

Stories of this sort are as thick as blackberries, and one hardly knows what to make of them. Some allegations, if true, would amount to a public scandal. For instance, it is confidently asserted that Freemason judges have been known to instruct the jury so as to secure acquittal for a prisoner who, according to the evidence, ought to have been condemned—and this simply because the prisoner at the right moment raised his hand in the dock, and made the secret Masonic sign. Worse than this. Several stories are current to the effect that in the South African war, the loyalty of British soldiers was more than once sacrificed to the Masonic allegiance; and that captures were uneffected and victories deliberately unachieved just because some Boer officer signalled out his Masonic sign.

Obviously one cannot swallow such tales straight away as if they were established facts. They resemble ghost stories in this respect, that it is extremely difficult to verify any single one of them; and yet they

are so numerous and circumstantial that one feels constrained to suspect something at the back of them. This much at least one can say. The Masonic profession of mutual help is certainly liable to lend itself to such abuses; and even where the misdemeanour is not proved, the very secrecy of the order is enough to breed suspicion among the non-Masonic public, and thus to undermine the spirit of trust and mutual confidence between man and man. It is on this broader and safer ground that we prefer to deal with the matter.

The combination of men into cliques or coteries may be either good, bad or indifferent according to circumstances. If for the promotion of some good end, the combination becomes good; if for a bad end, it becomes bad. Suppose the aim and object is in itself good, it can even then become evil if pursued in a manner calculated to give an undue advantage, or to interfere with legitimate competition, or to encroach on the claims of justice and fair play. Moreover, if such a combination is to be healthy in its workings, it must rest on some foundation in nature. For instance, suppose the Italians in India were to combine for mutual support in a foreign land, the common kinship of race and nationality would afford a sufficient reason. But where, as in Masonry, thousands of persons of altogether promiscuous character combine for mutual service on no other basis except that of mere membership, this natural foundation is wanting. If I afford help to some individual because he is a man of special merit, or because he is in special need, or even because he is a relation, or a fellow-countryman, or a college friend—all this is intelligible to the world in general, and can be calculated on and made full allowance for. But if I afford the same help to that

individual simply on the ground that he is a fellow-Mason, and especially because he is a superior officer in Masonry, this introduces an arbitrary determinant of action, which the general public is unable to gauge—thus creating a sense of uncertainty into all our civic and social relations.

In this way the very feature which constitutes the strong point in Freemasonry proves in the long run its weak point also. However plausible and innocent the principle of "brotherly aid" may appear at first sight, it is a system so liable to abuse that it could easily tend to weaken or destroy the spirit of whole-hearted citizenship, and thus prove a menace to the Commonwealth and to the State.

Time alone was required for the world in general to realise this important truth. The saying of Abraham Lincoln: "You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time; but you cannot fool all the people all the time" has pointed application here. The foregoing articles have shown how the realisation of this point has begun. The Catholic Church no longer stands alone in exposing the pernicious tendencies of Freemasonry. The world outside, the rulers of nations and leaders of politics, have come to recognise in the craft a serious menace to several things which all men of honest and upright dispositions hold most dearly at heart, namely, the spirit of openness and fair-play in social and business relations; the spirit of integrity in official service; the spirit of whole-hearted loyalty and devotion to the public good. Simultaneously in France, Belgium, Italy and Argentina all this has taken hold of the public consciousness; and, this on authentic and first hand knowledge. The lesson, if taken to heart, will

end, in the total discredit of Freemasonry—a consummation greatly to be desired by all honest and well meaning men.

XIII.

SOME REMARKS FOR CATHOLICS.

Most Catholics all over the world are firmly convinced that they must not join the Freemasons. In continental countries the anti-Catholic spirit of the order provides an obvious and sufficient deterrent; so that membership would be equivalent to overt apostasy. In English-speaking countries the case is different. Even here the great mass of Catholics are perfectly satisfied with the fact that the order is condemned by the Church. But among those whose faith or zeal for religion is weak, the common supposition that Freemasonry is "the key to success in life" affords a temptation to first enter its ranks, and then to try and justify the step by pointing to its harmless and innocent character. The foregoing articles will, we hope, have done much to empty these arguments of their force. We have shown that even English Freemasonry embodies three features which no Catholic on principle can accept; namely, its principle of indifferentism, its secrecy and its oath. Secondly, we have shown that Continental Freemasonry is blatantly anti-Catholic, and that English Freemasonry is also implicated through the solidarity of the order all over the world. Finally these substantial arguments are re-enforced by showing that the Catholic Church does not stand alone in the condemnation of the order; that Freemasonry has made itself odious by its political machination and its encroachments on the rights and liberties of others, and even proved

itself a danger to political integrity and loyal citizenship. The fact that Freemasonry is thus discredited, even in the outside world, ought to prove a considerable help to any Catholic who might feel a hankering after membership.

It is well known that in English circles "the court sets the fashion;" and it is quite probable that numbers of people have been induced to become Freemasons for the simple reason that the late King Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, was Grand Master in the order. Even this somewhat puerile attraction is now a thing of the past. Not only did Edward cut off all Masonic connections on reaching the throne; but it is an ascertained fact, worth putting on record, that his present Majesty neither is now, and never was, a Freemason. Thus the *Catholic Herald of India* of June 22nd, 1910, wrote :—

From the *Daily Chronicle* we copy the following interesting note :—

"We read in the 'Answers to Correspondents' column of a contemporary the statement : 'King George V. is a Freemason.' This little sentence requires but one word to make it correct. It is the simple unassuming word—Not."

This would confirm what we have seen stated elsewhere that, at the accession of his father to the throne, the present King declined to accept the Masonic succession of Edward VII.

On the same subject, "Max" in *Capital* writes :— "King Edward the VII., as Prince of Wales, was, as most people know, a Freemason. The present King has never been initiated into the craft. As to the reason, therefore, the story is now being told and has appeared in print, that His Majesty would not enter

the ranks of the Freemasons unless he was fully informed beforehand on the mysteries of the Craft. But an exception could not be made, even in the case of a member of the Royal Family, and hence King George has never become a "brother,"—which, if it be true, throws a light on the character of the King. He will not take things for granted."

FREEMASONS DON'T WANT US.

Finally, those Catholics who are unmoved by the Church telling them that they *must* not become Freemasons will perhaps find their self-love a more effectual deterrent, when they are told bluntly that the Freemasons themselves do not wish to have them. This is what we read in the *New Zealand Tablet* :—

"Some time ago a Freemason, of some prominence in the craft in New Zealand, informed us that the bulk of the brethren of the mystic tie in these countries view with disfavour the admission of Catholics to their ranks and look with deep distrust upon the motives which lead to their initiation. And well they may. And now from across the Pacific comes a statement, from a high Masonic source, that the brethren in America also 'hae their suspeeions' about Catholics that seek to cross the portals of the well-'tyled' lodge. Joseph W. Pomfrey is a thirty-third degree Mason ; he is likewise editor of an organ of the craft entitled *Five Points Fellowship ;* and in its columns he has recently delivered his soul upon the subject of Catholic Freemasons in the following outspoken way : 'His Holiness Pius X., following the noble example of the long line of illustrious Pontiffs of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, has recently issued an Encyclical forbidding the laity of the Roman Catholic Church uniting with the Masonic fraternity. For so issuing, he is entitled to the ever

lasting gratitude of Masons the world over, for the very good reason that the Encyclical will have the effect to keep out of the Masonic order an undesirable class of men. A Roman Catholic becoming a member of the Masonic order, and claiming to hold his membership in the Roman Catholic Church, cannot be true to both ; and if false to either, he cannot be true to either. It is fair to infer that it is not the sublime teachings of Freemasonry that attracted the Roman Catholic, but only the substantial benefits he hoped would accrue to him by becoming a Freemason.' "

A STRONGER TESTIMONY.

The same idea is forcibly brought out in an article by S. Spurgeon Medhurst, published in *The Builder*, a magazine devoted to "Masonic News and Teachings." The article is captioned : "Free Masons and Roman Catholics," and is herewith reprinted in full :—

"We may be without warrant of law for excluding Roman Catholics from Freemasonry, but we have ample warrant in Masonic ideals and practices for refusing all applications from members of the Roman Catholic Church. The psychic gateway to a Masonic lodge is, I submit, too narrow to admit Roman Catholics. We ought to refuse admission to all such applicants for the sake of the fraternity, for the sake of the applicant, for the sake of our principles of neutrality.

1. "For the Sake of the Fraternity.—A Roman Catholic can only become a Free Mason by forsaking his Church. He must either be a bad Mason or a bad Roman Catholic. He cannot be a good Mason and a good Roman Catholic. A man who leaves his Church for the sake of Freemasonry may easily be tempted in different circumstances to leave Freemasonry for the

sake of his Church. There exists for this reason a justifiable doubt as to whether such applicants are ever fit and proper persons to be made Masons.

"Further, if we admit Roman Catholics we confirm him in the idea that Freemasonry will supply him with what he fancies is lacking in his Church. This encourages the applicant to hold exaggerated opinions concerning Freemasonry, with undoubted, undesirable reactions which cannot but be injurious to the fraternity.

2. "For the Sake of the Applicant.—A Roman Catholic who knocks at the door of a Masonic lodge either renounces his past confessions of religion or practices a species of unworthy casuistry, for he knows that his action will exclude him from absolution and Communion. While, as Masons we hold no opinions concerning these peculiar religious rites, as Masons we cannot knowingly assist another to exclude himself from the benefits of his religion, no matter what opinions we may hold as private individuals regarding them.

"A Roman Catholic may apply for admission to the fraternity averring that he no longer conforms to the rules of his Church, and that he does not consider them binding upon him. To such the answer should be that while Masonry regards all forms of religion with equal friendly good will, it offers no substitute for any, nor does it welcome applicants who, in order to qualify for admission, have to acknowledge that they have only a formal connection with the religion which they profess.

3. "For the Sake of Neutrality.—A Roman Catholic again may seek admission to the fraternity as a protest against Rome's ecclesiastical tyranny. He should be told that Freemasonry will not open its doors for any such purpose, that the fraternity exercises perfect neutrality in regard to all forms of religion, and will not break

such neutrality by knowingly encouraging any member of any organized religion to do anything which runs counter to the rulings or teachings of that religion On the other hand, and by the same rule, we should equally be infringing neutrality were we to refuse a candidate suitable in every other respect, solely on the ground that he was a known opponent of the Roman Catholic Church.

"We should unhesitatingly reject an application from a Sinhalese Buddhist, because Buddhism in Ceylon is atheistic, and no Sinhalese can profess belief in the Deity, without denying his faith. A Roman Catholic believes in God, but he also believes in an infallible Church, and that infallible Church specially forbids him to be a Mason. We deny the privilege of our orders equally to the Sinhalese and the Catholics and on the same grounds, *viz.*, that Masonry cannot under any circumstances officially countenance religious recantation.

"We are aware that some Roman Catholics are Free Masons, but we do not understand how or why. It would be un-Masonic to suggest, without proof, that they are unworthy brethren as *prima facie* what their obligations have made them, but in consonance with the three explanations already given we would never vote for the admission of a Roman Catholic applicant unless there were some very extraordinary reasons why he should be received. Free Masons do not exclude Roman Catholics, Roman Catholics in *rerum natura* exclude themselves. If a Jew or a member of any branch of the Christian Church other than the Roman Catholic Church should apply for admission to Freemasonry no questions would be asked him concerning either his creed, his standing or relation with his church. In case of Roman Catholics such queries unfortunately become inevitable."

MASONIC BALLS, ETC.

Even Catholics who have no intention or desire of joining the Freemasons are often thrown into social intercourse with them and hesitate as to how far this social intercourse is allowable. The question of attending Masonic concerts or balls is one which we had to thrash out several times in the columns of THE EXAMINER; and so we close this series by gathering together such extracts as are calculated to clear up the point:—

I. A MASONIC BALL.

SIR,—A number of Freemasons got up a Dance which was merely for the entertainment of their friends, and at which there was no Masonic ceremony. In other words it was simply Masonic in name. The question arose whether those Catholics who were invited could attend. One opinion expressed was that to attend it would be a mortal sin. Others thought that this view was too rigoristic, and when beyond the requirements of the Church. Will you kindly inform me which view is the correct one? I may add that some persons were so angry at the idea of attendance being a mortal sin that they said they would rather leave the Church than submit to such rigorism.

Yours, etc.
ECCLESIÆ AMICUS.

Comment on the foregoing letter.

With regard to the last part of the letter, we know that people when they are angry sometimes say foolish things. Thus, it is always a foolish thing to talk of giving up one's religion on any ground whatsoever; and such a sentiment, if seriously and deliberately meant, would be sinful. We suppose however that

such remarks were made merely by way of letting off steam. If the Church *really does* forbid Catholics to attend a Masonic ball, every Catholic ought to recognise the right of the Church to do so, even though the reasons of the prohibition may not be fully understood. The only question therefore is: What does the Church say on the matter?

What the Church says is this:—"Those who give their name to the Freemasonic sect, or confer on it any favour whatsoever (favorem qualemcumque praestantes) incur *ipso facto* excommunication reserved to the Holy See." Attending a Masonic ball is clearly not "giving one's name to the sect;" the only question is whether it amounts to "favouring the sect." Lehmkuhl says that the chief actions referred to are "to receive, serve or minister to the sect, to lend a house for Masonic meetings, to help in getting Freemasons together, to advise people to join them, to protect them or to promote their cause, etc. Attending a Masonic ball is not expressly mentioned in any book we have at hand. But we remember this case being discussed during our studies:—"In a certain town a Masonic ball was held, to which the chief citizens were invited—some Catholics among them. The charge for tickets was a high one, and the proceeds were to go to the public hospital. One Catholic named Lucius, fearing to offend the influential Freemasons of the city, paid a large sum for his ticket, and went. The question is, did he incur the censure or not?" On the one hand, there was nothing specifically Masonic in the ball itself, which was a purely social affair. Again, the money did not go to the Freemasons, but to a public institution. This being the case, two out of the three students appointed to solve the case thought that it was

not a "promotion of the sect as such," and therefore Lucius did not incur the excommunication. The third student argued that it was a great help to the Masonic sect as such, to enable it to pose as a public benefactor; that this would increase its influence, already powerful, and induce people to join it, etc.; and therefore he thought that Lucius *did* incur the censure. The professor in summing up agreed with the last solution, because he thought that attending the ball and contributing money to it was under the circumstances a decided promotion of the sect as such. If the ball had been a purely social and unofficial affair which did not in any way tend to advance the reputation or interests of Freemasonry, perhaps the more lenient answer might have been preferable. But taking the case with its circumstances as given, there is much to be said in support of the severer one.

The above case gives us the principles on which to proceed. A Masonic ball, as they call it, is certainly not a Masonic function in the strict and objectionable sense. It is merely an expression of the social spirit of those who belong to the order. There is nothing sectarian in it, nor is it an official part of Masonry as such. It is, we suppose, got up under the auspices of Masonic officials, but is not necessarily intended as an engine for promoting any secret aims of the craft. In case the Masons attend in their costume, this gives it a further connection with the order; but not sufficient to convert it into a Masonic function properly so-called. Hence the attendance of a Catholic at the ball cannot *sweepingly* be condemned as a sin in itself, still less as a mortal sin. If in any particular case it is wrong for a Catholic to attend, this will be due to special circumstances, such as were given in the above

case. If the success of the ball will decidedly promote the influence of Freemasonry, *e. g.*, by enabling it to pose as a public benefactor, etc; then Catholics are forbidden to do anything to promote that object. The question will be, whether the attendance of a certain Catholic or number of Catholics amounts to "favorem qualemcumque." If the benefit conferred on Freemasonry is so slight as to be trivial and negligible, no sin, or at most a venial sin, will be committed; and a mortal sin will be reached only when the promotion of the craft is tangible and notable—according to the principle that grave matter is required to constitute a mortal sin.

Such are the principles; all that remains is their application to the local case. Is the ball merely an expression of the social spirit of those who are Free-Masons, with no further object? Or, is it subordinated to the craft as a means of securing public influence in any tangible and ascertainable way? If the former, we certainly cannot endorse the opinion that attendance would be a mortal sin. If the latter, then it seems to come within the range of the ecclesiastical prohibition; and the sin committed would be venial or mortal, according to the amount of favour, support or promotion given by each individual Catholic who attends. If the case is serious the sin would be mortal, and the censure would be incurred. But observe, the sin would not arise from the ball being anything sinful in itself; it would arise from the disobedience shown to the legitimate commands of the Church. As we are not conversant with the exact case, we cannot venture to decide categorically upon it. We cannot even ascertain from the description whether it was really a "Masonic Ball" in the ordinary sense of the term. All we can say is

that attendance at it must be clearly a case of "favorem praestantes," and this in a serious degree ascertained to be such, before the sin and the consequent censure can be incurred.

At the same time, putting aside sin and censure, we should decidedly prefer that Catholics should make it a matter of principle not to have any, even the remotest connection with anything Freemasonic—even a ball. Being *socially* free to go or not to go, they can politely excuse themselves because of the view which the Catholic Church takes of it. Outsiders know well enough what the Catholic position is; and if they do not understand the reasons of it, lend them a copy of our booklet on Freemasonry. If you treat them civilly they will take no offence, and will probably be rather edified to find Catholics so firm to their principles.

II. A MASONIC BALL.

SIR,—With reference to the letter of *Ecclesiae Amicus* allow me to ask your opinion upon another case :—

A priest was written to by one of his flock :—"We have received an invitation to a Masonic ball. Can we attend ?" To this he replied :—"The ball being openly styled *Masonic*, I do not see how you could attend."

A few days later, the same priest was asked the question again by another of his flock, and he said : "You certainly should not attend."

After the performance it was said that Masons had appeared at the ball wearing their Masonic emblems.

Yours etc.
[ACCURATE.]

Comment on the foregoing letter.

The real question at issue is as follows :—Does the fact that a ball is openly styled "Masonic ;" or aga in

the fact that Masons appear at it in their Masonic dress, bring attendance under the prohibition of the Church ? It is not easy to answer this question. Take a similar example. Suppose the Anglican congregation of the place were to get up a ball simply out of social enterprise. Calling it an "Anglican ball" would not make it Anglican. It would merely indicate the religious persuasion of the community which had got it up. If the ball were got up to promote Anglican influence, etc., the case would be different. Similarly the fact, that a ball is got up by the Masonic community and called "Masonic" would not *ipso facto* make it Masonic in the forbidden sense. Similarly the attendance of Masons in Masonic dress does not necessarily make it into a Masonic function in the strict sense ; just as the attendance of the Catholic clergy in soutanes and birettas would not make a gathering "Catholic" in the strict sense. If, however, such balls form part of the Masonic policy for securing influence ; then in that case attendance would, we think, come under the phrase "favorem qualemcumque praestantes." Until this is clearly ascertained, however, by an authoritative declaration, or by sure knowledge of the facts, we have no right to assert that it is so. Hence, till such a decision is arrived at, we cannot on our own authority *forbid* Catholics to attend. The most we can do is to *advise* them not to go, on the general ground before mentioned. If locally the attendance is looked upon by the general public, or by the Catholic community as a sort of patronage or encouragement of Freemasonry, this would give a sufficient ground for such advice ; and attendance under such circumstances would seem to us a failure of duty, *in the wider sense of the word.* At the same time, unless we have certain ground to go upon, we cannot

forbid attendance as a duty *in the strict sense of the word*; that is, as an obligation binding under sin or canonical censure. Possibly a closer knowledge of Masonic balls would enable us to decide the question categorically. But in the absence of full knowledge we can only follow the general principles of moral theology, and abstain from imposing a strict obligation where the existence of the obligation is not clear and certain. In such cases our appeal is to the better feelings of the individual rather than to any exactly defined law—that is to say, it is more in accordance with the Catholic spirit not to have anything to do with Freemasonry in any form.

III. A MASONIC CONCERT.

SIR,—A Variety Concert and Dance took place recently in a certain station, "in aid of the funds for the (local) Masonic Institutions." A prominent Catholic's name appeared on the programme of the concert. Some Catholics, being invited, excused themselves on the ground that they could not support a masonic institution either by money or attendance. This was, considered by others as "narrow-minded if not fanatical," and placed in contrast with the "liberal-minded generosity" of the Catholic singer who has allowed himself to be put on the programme. Please give your verdict on the merits of the case.

Yours etc.
[SIGNED.]

Comment on the foregoing letter.

According to Catholic principles, as laid down by the Church, Catholics are forbidden not only to become Freemasons, but even to countenance them, or to do anything to promote their enterprise or prestige (favo-

rem qualemcumque praestantes]. And Catholics who knowingly act against these rules of the Church to a serious extent fall under the sentence of excommunication : (*Apostolicæ sedis*, 1869, Cap. II, para 4).

As regards "Masonic concerts and balls," these are of two kinds :—(1) Those which are got up for public charities which are not masonic, or merely for social amusement ; and (2) those which are got up for distinctly freemasonic purposes, such as funds for a Masonic institute. In the former case there may arise some discussion as to whether Catholics are strictly forbidden to attend, because it is sometimes argued that they are not really masonic in aim, etc. Even in these cases our constant advice would be that Catholics should stand aloof, because such meetings always seem, in some indirect way at least, to promote freemasonry. But in case of the concert and dance reported by our correspondent, there is not the slightest room for discussion. It is clearly and in the full sense a masonic enterprise, having for its object the promotion of masonic work ; and therefore Catholics are forbidden to take any part in it, or in any way to promote it—and this (if the law is taken strictly) under pain of excommunication. We do not mean to assert that the Catholics who did take part are actually in a state of excommunication, because presumably they did not know the law and penalty of the Church on this point, and perhaps never thought of the idea of promoting freemasonry, etc. But at any rate when a similar case occurs they will, after reading this comment, know their duty better.

IV. MARRYING A FREEMASON.

Sir,—There is here a Catholic who became a freemason and afterwards gave up all practice of religion, but wants now to marry a Catholic girl. I told him that

unless he gave up Freemasonry I could not bless his marriage. He replied that he saw no harm in Freemasonry and believes that I am at liberty to marry him. I assured him not, so long as he continued a Mason.

Yours etc.
[A Parish Priest.]

Comment on the foregoing letter.

When a Catholic becomes a Freemason, he not only commits a grave sin against ecclesiastical obedience, but also incurs excommunication, from which he can only be absolved by the permission of the Pope—a permission which, however, is often delegated to the bishops in order to save time. By excommunication a Catholic is cut off from the membership of the Church, at least as regards the use of the sacraments ; so that no priest can give him holy Communion, or any other sacrament, until he has repented of his sin, confessed it and received absolution both from the sin and from the excommunication. If a priest *did* marry a man in that state of excommunication the marriage would be valid, but a sacrilege would be involved. Moreover, the Catholic who has become a Freemason, and given up the practice of his faith, does not thereby deliver himself from the spiritual jurisdiction of the church. He cannot pose as a Protestant and demand to be treated as a Protestant. He is still a subject of the Church, though a disobedient and penalised one. Hence it is his duty to obey the Church, and give up Freemasonry, and obtain reconciliation, and then to get his marriage performed before the proper priest and witnesses according to the law. If he goes to the Registrar or Protestant minister the marriage will be invalid—that is to say, no marriage in the sight of God.

As to his "not seeing any harm" in Freemasonry, that is not to the point. A man might see no harm in attending Salvation Army meetings, or in marrying his first cousin, or in divorce, or in having two wives. Nevertheless the Church forbids these things; and the business of a Catholic is to obey. Similarly a soldier may see no harm in leaving the camp, or in shooting at a stray roebuck, or in drinking water out of a pond while on the march, or in stopping in bed after the bugle has sounded. But he is bound to obey orders all the same; and he ought to suppose that the authorities know what they are doing in giving such orders. So with the Catholic. The Church authorities cannot be so fatuous as to see imaginary harm where there is none; and their attitude towards Freemasonry, he may be sure, is based on solid grounds. But whether he sees this or not, his simple business as a Catholic is to obey and to leave responsibility for the orders to those who have framed them.

Is Freemasonry a Religion?

We read in a contemporary that the (Anglican) Bishop of Calcutta, in his sermon at the Annual Masonic service, said: "It is sometimes asked whether Freemasonry is a religion; it is not." Against this is quoted a standard work of Freemasonry by Churchward which says "Freemasonry is the old time religion of the world without dogmas or sects." This latter represents the ordinary Masonic teaching. Masonry certainly upholds belief in God the architect of the universe whom it addresses in prayer, and thereby constitutes itself a religion, containing one dogma at least. But it goes further, and asserts as a principle that this limited belief is sufficient for the purposes of

religion, whereas the different churches, denominations or sects hold that it is not sufficient. In this way Freemasonry is not sectarian, but is rather anti-sectarian, through the way it preaches the non-importance of those dogmas and creeds which the sects maintain to be of vital importance.

But in allowing that Freemasonry is not sectarian, at least we must maintain that it is anti-Christian. For according to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, Christ is the one Saviour of the world, and belief in his redemptive office is the one sole basis of salvation. To deny this doctrine of Christianity is to repudiate Christianity itself, and to offer to mankind a religion which claims to satisfy all man's requirements without Christianity.

The tolerance with which Freemasonry admits Christians to membership, without requiring them to repudiate their faith, cloaks over and disguises, but does not efface its constitutionally anti-Christian character.

When a Christian joins the Freemasons he does not necessarily give up his own belief in Christianity. But by enrolling himself in a society which holds the anti-Christian principle that Christianity is not necessary, he is distinctly disloyal to Christianity.

To take an analogy. No Englishman who believed in the authority of the king would join a Socialistic society which denied the authority of the king. For such a society is by its very nature an enemy to the king, and it is a breach of loyalty to give countenance or patronage to it. In the same way no Christian, believing as he does in the divine character of Christianity, and in the necessity of being a Christian, can without disloyalty join or patronise a society that professes to offer a religion which is complete without Christianity.

and repudiates the divine character of Christianity, and denies the necessity of being a Christian. But such disloyalty is a sin against religion; and for this reason the Church condemns it.

This matter is well illustrated as follows:—

A correspondent, "Once a Mason," in a letter to the *Church Times*, tells the following story:—"Many years ago when I belonged to a lodge," says the writer, "I was at a Masonic banquet where the chaplain ended the grace with the words 'through Jesus Christ Our Lord.' For this inadvertence (!) he was sternly taken to task by the Worshipful Master. That was the time when we were fighting the battle against undenominational religion, and I perceived, as I still maintain, that a Catholic could not consistently associate himself with a system which professes a religion that forbids mention of the Name that is above every name. So I at once resigned my membership of the Craft, and the chaplain also resigned. The brethren solemnly rebuked me for plainly stating to the W. M. the reason of my withdrawal.' Such an incident as this is a further testimony to the wisdom of the Church's prohibition against Catholics joining Freemasonry.

[The End.]

GALILEO:
AND HIS CONDEMNATION

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BY

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NOTE

THE contents of this volume mainly appeared as editorial articles in *The Examiner* (Bombay) during 1912; the notes on Galileo's proofs and on his contemporaries (pp. 126–132) are by a contributor to *The Examiner*; the note on Kepler and Galileo (p. 132) was also partly contributed. The whole were published in book form in Bombay early in 1913; of this the present volume is a reprint, with a few necessary corrections.

August 1913.

GALILEO:

AND HIS CONDEMNATION

I. INTRODUCTION

THE condemnation of Galileo by the Roman Inquisition in 1633 is a subject from which any writer who aims at exciting interest would be most likely to abstain. The idea is that everybody is supposed to know all about it; and this may be one of the reasons why so many are privileged to talk nonsense and to display serious ignorance about it. The question having come before me lately, in the form of some rather misleading statements by a Catholic apologist, I thought it a good opportunity for investigating it with a view of checking these and other assertions and inferences which are current on the subject. Some of our popular writers on the Galileo question have not been happy in their treatment, apparently for want of familiarity with authentic documents. Hence the chief object was to reproduce their full text for reference in case of necessity. To give point to these documents they have been framed in a summary of the whole history drawn from reliable sources.

The use made of the Galileo case in the past differs considerably from that at the present time. Formerly, it was enlisted by Protestant controversialists as an argument against the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope. This line of argument is now obsolete except among the profoundly ignorant or the furiously fanatical. The open acknowledgement made by Catholics that a decree of the Inquisition or of the Index is not dogmatical but disciplinary—that even the approval and confirmation of a decree by the Pope does not make it an *ex cathedra* definition to which alone infallibility can be attached—has knocked the bottom out of this hackneyed accusation. In modern times the event is made use of, not so much by Protestants as by "progressive" Catholics, as a powerful object-lesson and warning held out to the official authorities at Rome, not to be precipitous in condemning modern scientific or critical theories. For since the Roman Congregations made a grievous mistake in Galileo's case three centuries ago, so by passing an adverse sentence on the results of modern thought they might easily do the same again now. Such is the usual form of the argument.

The moral is of course a sound one, as nobody will deny. No doubt it does suggest caution, not only to Roman officials but to everybody else. But it is a lesson which has been sufficiently rubbed in; and it is perhaps a little superfluous, to say nothing of being offensive and ungracious, to make use of it

in the way which is done by some of the writers of the school referred to.

SUMMARY OF THE QUESTION

The great subject concerning which the name of Galileo has become a household word is, as everybody is supposed to know, the dynamic constitution of the universe—the point of contention being expressible in a nutshell thus: Whether the sun moves round the earth, or the earth moves round the sun?

The prevailing idea of primitive mankind pictured the world as a vast stationary plain with the ocean flowing round it, and the heavens either as a solid revolving dome which carried the sun, moon, and stars round with it; or else as a fixed dome under which the heavenly bodies revolved in concentric spheres of their own—the earth being the fixed centre of the system.

The Greek philosopher Pythagoras (fl. B.C. 555) is traditionally said to have taught, on the contrary, that the earth, stars, and even the sun itself, were all moving bodies which revolved round a common centre called the "central fire"; but his teaching obtained no currency or acceptance.

Ptolemy (fl. A.D. 140), *the* great authority in astronomy throughout the Middle Ages, held that the earth was spherical; but in other respects he followed the ordinary idea that it was the fixed centre of the world and that the whole heavens revolved round it.

This last was the system in vogue till the time of Galileo. Before him, however, the Pythagorean idea had been revived by Nicolas de Cusa (died 1464) and developed by Copernicus (died 1543), who thought that the earth and all the planets revolved round the sun. His views were listened to with interest by Pope Clement VII., while his book treating of it was dedicated to Pope Paul III. Both these authors were good Catholics, and were in favour with the ecclesiastical authorities of the time. A third scientist, Tycho Brahe (born 1546), while admitting that the stars and planets revolved round the sun, still maintained against Copernicus that the sun revolved round the earth as the centre of the system. This view did not make much headway. Hence, at the time of Galileo there were only two rival systems to consider:

(1) The theory of Ptolemy, that the earth was the stationary centre, and that the sun, moon, and stars revolved round it [Geocentric system].

(2) The theory of Copernicus, that the sun was the stationary centre, and that the earth and all the other heavenly bodies revolved round it [Heliocentric system].

Galileo (born 1564) found the former system practically in universal vogue; but his own discoveries soon convinced him that the second theory was the right one; and he spared no pains to make his opinion known. Even on scientific grounds he suffered an incredible amount of opposition; but

before long the question got entangled with theology. Galileo's theory was (1616 and 1633) condemned by the Church authorities, and Galileo himself was forced to renounce it under severe ecclesiastical pains and penalties. Yielding to outward pressure, but keeping his internal convictions to himself, he spent his latter years in disgrace, and died in the year 1642 at the age of seventy-eight, leaving posterity to vindicate the truth of his contentions, which are now a commonplace among the elements of scientific knowledge.

My original purpose in writing these chapters was simply to attend to this main issue, giving the historical facts in the barest outline, and paying chief attention to the official documents and the controversial aspects of the case. But while in the act of writing I came across a book on the subject which at once attracted attention and suggested a more comprehensive treatment. This volume casts a halo of human interest round the life of Galileo. Its title is *Galileo, his Life and Work*, by J. J. Fahie (Murray, 1903). The author is a professional engineer, and therefore shows a special interest in Galileo's scientific work. He has not confined himself to a dry narration, but has given us a vivid picture of Galileo as a man, and even of his intimate family relations—in short, a more entertaining book could hardly have been written. Moreover, though the author shows himself one-sided against Galileo's opponents and takes too favourable a view of Galileo's

own character and actions, the work is free from controversial animus.

The chief advantage of Fahie's book lies in the light it throws on the workings of the scientific and theological ethos which led to the Galilean tragedy. One of the great services of a historian is not merely to provide us with the facts, but also to reveal the psychological forces which lie at the back of them. By this means the strangest events in history become intelligible in the light of human nature, thus opening the modern mind to a more sympathetic and tolerant view of the past than would otherwise seem possible. For these reasons I decided to extend the scope of my treatment so as to set the whole question better in its historical context.

E. R. H.

II. FROM 1564 TO 1600

EARLY LIFE OF GALILEO

GALILEO was descended from a noble family of Florence honourably connected with the government of that republic. Vincenzio, the father of our Galileo, was an impoverished descendant of this family—of broken fortune, but intellectually well endowed; and a man of independent and critical mind. He had three sons: Galileo, Michelangelo, and Benedetto. The last of these died in infancy, while Michelangelo survived to be a constant source of domestic trouble to Galileo, and seems to have been a man of worthless character. Galileo himself was born in 1564 at Pisa. Here he received his early education, which included Greek and Latin. At the age of twelve or thirteen he joined the humanities class at the monastery of Vallombrosa near Florence, where he added the elements of logic and science to his classical studies. He even at one time thought of a religious life, and actually joined the novitiate of the order; but was withdrawn by his father, who wished him to engage in trade for the support of the family. Already he exhibited

a decided talent for mechanical invention by the making of toy machines, "none the less ingenious because they would not work." He was fond of music, and played the lute with taste. His skill in painting would probably have made him an artist had he been free to choose his own career. He was also fairly capable in the writing of verse. These varied abilities caused his father to abandon the scheme of turning him into a cloth-merchant. Instead of this the medical profession was decided upon; and so in 1581, at the age of seventeen, he was sent to study medicine at the university of Pisa.

Here in his philosophical course he displayed a propensity, inherited from his father, of always examining an assertion to see what it was worth, and soon acquired a reputation for bold contradiction which gave him the nickname of "the wrangler." His audacity reached its climax when he came to question the dictates of Aristotle, which was at that time regarded almost as a blasphemy. Medicine was practically neglected in favour of science and mathematics, and his insight soon led him to important results. The first of these was the invention of an instrument for timing the beats of the pulse. From the observation of a swinging lamp in church (so the story runs) he noticed that the oscillation of a pendulum constantly decreased in range but retained the same time for each oscillation. Experiments at home showed him that the time occupied by the swing varied according to the length of the

pendulum. Putting these two facts together, he constructed a pendulum with adjustable string measured by a scale. Applying this machine to a patient, the string was lengthened or shortened till the swings of the pendulum corresponded with the beats of the pulse, and the number on the scale was noted. Nowadays, the timing of the pulse is done simply by counting with a watch. But in those days watches hardly existed and clocks were not portable, and so the doctors had to estimate the pulse by guesswork till Galileo's instrument gave them an absolute measure.

SOME OF HIS DISCOVERIES

Vincenzio, meantime, finding that no progress was being made in medicine, withdrew his son from the university and kept him at home in Florence, where he studied science and mathematics to his heart's content Inspired by the writings of Archimedes, he soon invented the "hydrostatic balance" for ascertaining accurately the weight of any two metals in an alloy. Suppose you send an ounce of pure gold to a goldsmith to make a ring with. The ring comes back and weighs exactly one ounce, but you have reason to suspect that he has withheld some of the gold and substituted the same weight of a baser metal. How can you detect the fraud? Gold is heavier bulk for bulk than any other metal which could have been used in its place. Therefore,

your procedure is as follows: You take another ounce of pure gold and immerse it in water, and see how much water it displaces. Next you immerse the ring and see how much water it displaces. If the displacements are equal you know that the ring is also of pure gold. If the ring displaces more, this proves that it has a greater bulk; or, in other words, that it is partly made up of a lighter metal.

This elementary fact was already known. But Galileo went further, and, by weighing the substances first in water and then in air, and instituting a comparison, he was able to find not only the presence of the alloy but also the amount in proportion to the whole.

Galileo's next work was to investigate the centre of gravity of bodies. These and other enterprises soon becoming known, gave Galileo a reputation and brought him an introduction to Ferdinando I., the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who henceforth became his patron. Meantime, Galileo's great problem was how to gain a living, as his inventions brought in no money. He therefore began to give private lessons in mathematics at Florence and Siena. Several tries to obtain a professorship at the university failed. When at last he succeeded in 1589 in securing an appointment for three years at Pisa, his salary only amounted to about £13 per annum—an office-boy's wage—which he managed to eke out by private tuition.

Meantime, his mind was never at rest. Besides

new researches into the centre of gravity, he discovered the cycloid curve. Hold a pencil point on the edge of a penny and roll the penny along a wall, and you will discover it too—and then you can go deeply into the mathematics of it as Galileo did. In 1590 he published a treatise, *De Motu Gravium*—"On the Movement of Heavy Bodies"—which was circulated in manuscript. In this treatise he appealed from the authority of Aristotle to the evidence of the senses, and by actual experiment proved certain of the principles of "the philosopher" to be false. The learned followers of Aristotle ridiculed and refused to listen to him; but Galileo tried to force them to face the fact. Aristotle's principle asserted that if two bodies of different weight were dropped together they would reach the ground in different times, the heavier one first. Galileo assembled the professors and students in the Campo Santo under the leaning tower of Pisa and dropped down a ten-pound shot and a one-pound shot at the same time. Instead of arriving at the ground separately they arrived together, and thus proved Aristotle wrong and Galileo right. No doubt the students put their tongues in their cheeks and began to splutter. But the grave professors went on maintaining that the ten-pound shot *must* travel ten times as fast as the one-pound shot, because Aristotle had said so, and they could quote chapter and verse. The only result was that Galileo was boycotted by his fellow-professors, and subjected to

so many petty annoyances that he retired from the university and returned to Florence in 1592. Here he left science alone for a time and devoted himself to literary criticism and the writing of verse. By this time his father had died, and the whole family—his mother, his brother the worthless Michelangelo, and two sisters—almost entirely depended upon him for their daily bread; and he discredited and out of employment!

It was not long, however, before Galileo obtained a professorship in mathematics at Padua "for four years certain and two uncertain," at a salary of 180 florins a year—which was exceptionally good. Here he wrote a number of treatises on military architecture, on fortification, on mechanics, on the sphere, on accelerated motion, and on gnomics. As an engineer he was in great requisition by the government, for whom he invented a new method of raising water. He also made a complicated geometrical and military compass. This soon secured a reputation, and brought in orders from all parts of Europe which he had to execute himself, and thus his house was turned into a workshop. Meantime, his reputation as a lecturer brought students flocking to Padua from other countries; and on the expiry of his first term of years the appointment was renewed for another six.

Galileo never married; but his relations with a Venetian lady named Marina Gamba brought him three children—Virginia (1600), Livia (1601), and

Vincenzio (1606). These were brought up by their mother at Padua till 1610, when they were withdrawn from her charge and taken by their father to Florence. In 1612, Marina—a person of violent temper, almost impossible to live with—married. Next year the two girls were put into a convent; the correspondence between them and their father provides charming reading. The boy's education was a drain on his father's slender purse, and he never made much of a career.

III. FROM 1600 TO 1616

GALILEO'S next work was the invention of the thermometer—which, however, only reached its perfection later. In 1604 his attention was turned to astronomy by the appearance of a new star, on the nature of which Galileo's speculations, though ingenious and novel, were not successful. They offended the Aristotelians, however, whose theory of the perfection and unchangeability of the heavens was outraged. It was this incident which first drew Galileo into controversy, in which he boldly threw down the gauntlet in favour of the Copernican system. So far, however, this theory was merely a speculative one. It was the discovery of the telescope which brought it within the range of experimental verification.

FRUITS OF THE TELESCOPE

This instrument was, it seems, first invented (or rather one might say discovered) in Holland in the year 1608 by an apprentice in a spectacle-shop, who happened to put two lenses together and found that they made distant objects look much nearer

and larger, but turned them upside down. His enterprising master seized on the discovery, fixed the double lenses in tubes, and began to sell them merely as curious toys, till the scientific value of the instrument was recognized and a patent taken out. Whether by independent thought, as he claimed, or by copying an instrument seen, as others say, Galileo soon succeeded in making one for himself. Turning this to the heavens, his first discovery was to perceive that the moon was a body very similar to the earth. By increasing the power of the instrument he next discovered Jupiter's moons and some new fixed stars, and found out something about the composition of the Milky Way. He announced these discoveries in a treatise published in 1610 under the title *Sidereus Nuntius*, which he presented together with a sample telescope to many of the princes and learned men of Italy, France, Flanders, and Germany. He did not in this book professedly connect his new discoveries with the Copernican theory ; but he made no secret of his belief in lectures and conversations. His treatise raised a new storm of hostility from the Aristotelians, some of whom even refused to look through his telescope, while others refuted his facts by *a priori* reasonings.

The next event was the discovery of the rings of Saturn, which, however, Galileo did not see as rings, but as smaller stars attached to the two sides of the orb, or, later on, as elliptical or triangular

projections. He was immensely puzzled when these projections gradually diminished and finally disappeared. This we now know to be due to the tilt of the rings, which periodically present their thin edge only to our view. To Galileo, the conclusion was that the two "satellites" had passed out of vision by revolving round their centre—the one being behind, the other in front of the planet's disc. It was only in 1656, after Galileo's time, that the true nature of Saturn's rings was ascertained, thanks to the increased power of Huygen's telescope.

In 1610 Galileo was appointed First Mathematician of the University of Pisa and Philosopher and Mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosima II., with a yearly salary of 1000 scudi. His leaving Padua to reside at Florence in his new official capacity was a mistake, for it brought him into more immediate conflict with his enemies of the conservative school.

His next discovery was the varying crescent form of Venus, which afforded a strong confirmation of the Copernican theory—proving that this planet at least revolved round the sun.

In view of the widespread interest of these discoveries, Galileo in 1611 set out for the Eternal City: here he was received with the greatest distinction by princes and Church dignitaries, who vied with learned laymen in doing him honour. After an exhibition of his discoveries in the garden of the

Quirinal Palace, a commission of four scientific members of the Roman College was appointed at the request of Cardinal Bellarmine to examine and report. As a result the commissioners admitted what many had long denied and ridiculed, being fully convinced of the truth of the facts announced by Galileo. By this opinion, given on April 24th, 1612 (writes Fahie), his discoveries received to a certain extent the sanction of the Church. Attentions of all sorts were now heaped on him. Pope Paul V. granted him a long audience, and assured him of his unalterable good-will. High dignitaries of the Church followed suit and were lavish in their admiration; and the Accademia dei Lincei (the prototype of our Royal Society) elected him a member. So that when he took his departure, Galileo left behind him in Rome many sincere friends and admirers and some very envious foes.

Galileo's next discovery was that of spots on the sun, irregular and of changing shape, which travelled across the bright surface itself, and were certainly not separate planets. The Jesuit Father Scheiner, however, claimed independent discovery of these. As an amusing illustration of the way in which the teaching of Aristotle dominated the minds of the learned in those days, Fahie relates—though we have not been able to verify the story—that when Scheiner communicated his discoveries to his Provincial, the latter replied: "I have read Aristotle's writing from end to end many times, and I can assure you that I

have nowhere found anything similar to what you describe. Go my son, tranquillize yourself. Be assured that what you take for spots on the sun are the faults of your glasses, or your eyes." Scheiner was permitted to publish his observations, but only anonymously.

Another work written at this time was on the inequalities of the moon's surface, or "lunar mountains." A treatise on *Floating Bodies*, which appeared in 1612, soon raised a violent discussion. The view of Aristotle was that the floating or sinking of a body depended principally on its shape. This was based on the observation that a thin film of heavy material will float if laid gently on the surface of the water—the fallacy of which is exposed as soon as the film is immersed in the water. Into the experiments by which Galileo refuted the old theory we cannot enter; but his opponents remained unconvinced.

THE SCRIPTURE TROUBLE

It is in the year 1612 that we find the first symptoms of a gathering storm. So long as it was a question of Aristotle *versus* empirical observation not much mischief could arise. But when his adversaries found themselves worsted in argument by the appeal to facts, they fell back on a more dangerous weapon which they wielded with deadly effect. They began to take their stand on theology, and to declare that Galileo's astronomical doctrines

were contrary to Scripture, and that the Church was therefore in danger.

It is sometimes supposed that Galileo brought all the mischief on himself by dabbling in theology; that had he confined himself to science and left Scripture alone he would never have come to grief. But it looks as if the Scriptural question was first raised by Galileo's enemies, and he was simply forced to argue the subject in self-defence. The first ground of contention was his theory of sun-spots: this raised an immense amount of *odium theologicum* at Pisa, at the very time when Cardinal Maffeo Barberino (afterwards Pope Urban VIII.) and others at Rome were thanking Galileo for a copy of his book, and expressing their admiration at his researches. The real trouble seems to have arisen out of a simple incident. The Dowager Duchess of Tuscany, in a conversation with a disciple of Galileo, the Benedictine Father Castelli, raised the objection that the double motion of the earth seemed contrary to Scripture. When informed of this Galileo wrote a letter to Castelli maintaining the view expressed in recent years by Leo XIII., "that the Scripture, not having for its object to teach science, makes use of such expressions as would be intelligible to the vulgar without regard to the true structure of the heavens." The enthusiastic Castelli gave this letter a wide circulation in written copies: it thus came into the hands of Galileo's enemies, who exaggerated his modest contention into a

charge of having assailed the universal authority of the Bible.

After some months of agitation behind the scenes, Father Caccini, of the Dominican convent of San Marco, openly declared war in the pulpit of one of the Florence churches (December 1614), asserting that Galileo's doctrine of the earth's motion round the sun was irreconcilable with the Catholic Faith, since it contradicted Holy Scripture. He therefore denounced Galileo's teaching as heretical. A Jesuit Father, preaching shortly after at the Duomo (or Cathedral), took up Galileo's cause against the Dominican, stating that Copernicus was right, that Galileo and his followers were good Catholics, and that his enemies were ignorant of science. This contention between the representatives of the two famous orders only added fuel to fire, and provoked more business-like measures. Father Lorini, a Dominican of the same convent, under date February 5th, 1615, drafted to the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Rome a denunciation—not of Galileo by name, but of the Galileists in general, who maintained that the earth moves and the heavens stand still; and passed a severe theological censure on Galileo's letter, a copy of which was enclosed.

On receipt of this denunciation the Holy Office instituted a private inquiry. The Counsellor's report was a colourless one. Some passages were objectionable; but though at first sight they looked ill, they were capable of being taken in a good sense, and,

on the whole, the document did not deviate from Catholic doctrine. In other words, the sober and sound view of Leo XIII. in the nineteenth century was also the view accepted on this occasion by the Holy Office in the early seventeenth. The only notice taken of the denunciation was a private and unofficial note from a friend in Rome—apparently inspired by Cardinals del Monte and Bellarmine—advising Galileo to hurry on with his promised further writings on the same subject, but cautiously to avoid theology and confine himself to mathematics and physics. "Write freely," he said, "but be careful to keep outside the sacristy." Galileo also received private assurances from Cardinal Barberini (afterwards Pope Urban VIII.) that he had Galileo's interests at heart, and imposing the same caution about theology. Galileo, unfortunately, was indiscreet enough—though the step was quite human and natural—to go to the source of the mischief and write a sort of *apologia* to the Grand Dowager Duchess who had originally raised the objection, explaining his views about Scripture in a modest and deprecatory manner. This letter did not convert the Duchess, and merely gave another handle to Galileo's enemies.

Hearing ominous reports that agitation was still going on, Galileo thought it best to combat his enemies by going to Rome in person, which he did in December 1615. His reception by the authorities was cordial, but he soon discovered that a zealous

movement was going on against him even in Rome itself. Caccini, who had also come to Rome, held a private discussion with Galileo, but without converting him from his novel views.

THE OFFICIAL ACT OF 1616

Meantime, the official machinery was set to work. On the 19th of February the Qualifiers or experts of the Holy Office were called upon for an opinion on the following propositions extracted from Galileo's work on sun-spots :—

(1) The sun is the centre of the world, and therefore immovable from its place.

(2) The earth is not the centre of the world, and is not immovable, but moves, and also with a diurnal motion.

On February 24th, the Qualifiers sent in their verdict as follows :—

(1) "The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world and does not move from its place is absurd and false philosophically, and formally heretical because it is expressly contrary to Holy Scripture.

(2) "The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world and immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is equally absurd and false philosophically, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith."

In view of this verdict of the consulting theologians,

the Pope desired Cardinal Bellarmine to send for Galileo and admonish him to abandon his opinion; and if he refused to obey, the Father Commissary in the presence of a notary and witnesses was to enjoin on him a command to abstain altogether from teaching or defending this opinion and doctrine, and even from discussing it; and if he did not acquiesce therein, that he should be imprisoned.

There exists in the Roman archives a document purporting to record this admonition. It is dated February 26th [1616], but bears no signature:—

"Friday, the 26th. At the palace, the usual residence of the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, the said Galileo, having been summoned and brought before the said Lord Cardinal, was, in presence of the Most Revd. Michelangelo Seghizzi, of the order of preachers, Commissary-General of the Holy Office, warned by the said Lord Cardinal of the error of the aforesaid opinion and admonished to abandon it. And immediately thereafter before me and before witnesses, the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine being still present, the said Galileo was by the said Commissary commanded and enjoined, in the name of his Holiness the Pope, and the whole Congregation of the Holy Office, to relinquish altogether the said opinion that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the earth moves; nor henceforth to hold, teach, or defend it in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing; otherwise proceedings would be taken against him in the Holy Office; which

injunction the said Galileo acquiesced in and promised to obey.

"Done at Rome, in the palace aforesaid, in the presence of Badino Nores, of Nicosia, in the kingdom of Cyprus, and Augustino Mongardo, from a place in the abbacy of Rose, in the diocese of Politianeti, inmates of the said Cardinal's house, witnesses."[1]

This submission saved him from official censure, and conciliated those who had to judge about his case; for when in March an official decree of the Index was issued prohibiting five works on the subject, those of Galileo were considerately not mentioned among them The text of this famous decree, dated March 3rd, 1616, runs as follows:—

"March 3, 1616. The Lord Cardinal Bellarmine having reported that Galileo Galilei, mathematician, had, in terms of the order of the Holy Congregation, been admonished to abandon the opinion he has hitherto held, and had acquiesced therein; and the decree of the Congregation of the Index having been presented, prohibiting and suspending respectively the writings of Nicolas Copernicus on *The Revolutions of the Celestial Orbs*; of Diego di Zuniga *On Job*; and of Paola Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite

[1] A controversy was raised as to whether this document of February 26th is genuine or a forgery. That some such interview took place is proved by the decree of March 3rd which immediately follows; the only question is whether this is an authentic account of it. No reference to this document occurs till 1632, when it was used with deadly effect. The latest authorities are, however, in favour of its genuineness.

friar; his Holiness has ordered this edict of prohibition and suspension respectively to be published as follows:—

". . . And whereas it has also come to the knowledge of the said Congregation, that the Pythagorean doctrine—which is false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture—of the motion of the earth, and the quiescence of the sun, which is also taught by Nicolas Copernicus in *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, and by Diego di Zuniga in [his book on] Job, is now being spread abroad and accepted by many—as may be seen from a certain letter of a Carmelite Father, entitled, *Letter of the Rev. Father Paola Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite, on the opinion of the Pythagoreans and of Copernicus concerning the motion of the earth, and the stability of the sun, and the new Pythagorean system of the world, at Naples, printed by Lazzaro Scorriggio*, 1615: wherein the said father attempts to show that the aforesaid doctrine of the quiescence of the sun in the centre of the world, and of the earth's motion, is consonant with truth and is not opposed to Holy Scripture. Therefore, in order that this opinion may not insinuate itself any further to the prejudice of Catholic truth, the Holy Congregation has decreed that the said Nicolas Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus Orbium*, and Diego di Zuniga, on Job, be suspended until they be corrected; but that the book of the Carmelite Father, Paola Antonio Foscarini, be altogether prohibited and condemned, and that all

other works likewise, in which the same is taught, be prohibited, as by this present decree it prohibits, condemns, and suspends them all respectively. In witness whereof the present decree has been signed and sealed with the hands and with the seal of the most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Bishop of Albano, on the 5th day of March, 1616."

In this decree a distinction is made between those works which assert the Copernican system as an ascertained fact, and those which treat it as a tentative suggestion or hypothesis. The former are absolutely condemned, the latter merely ordered to be emended.[1] Galileo's works were not mentioned; nor was he called upon to abjure his views; and when the rumour got about that he had been made to recant and had received a salutary penance, Cardinal Bellarmine gave him a certificate (dated May 26th, 1616) formally declaring that this was not the case :—

"We, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, having heard that it is calumniously reported that Signor Galileo Galilei has in our hand abjured, and has also been punished with salutary penance, and being requested to state the truth as to this, declare that the said Signor Galileo Galilei has not abjured, either in our

[1] In 1620 appeared a *monitum* of the Index permitting the reading of the work of Copernicus after certain specified corrections had been made. These corrections, according to Fahie, were of a most trivial character.

hand or the hand of any other person here in Rome, or anywhere else, so far as we know, any opinion or doctrine held by him; neither has any salutary penance been imposed upon him, but only the declaration made by the Holy Father, and published by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, has been intimated to him, wherein it is set forth that the doctrine attributed to Copernicus—that the earth moves round the sun, and that the sun is stationary in the centre of the world, and does not move from east to west—is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore cannot be defended or held.

"In witness whereof, we have written and subscribed these presents with our hand this 26th day of May, 1616."

According to this, Galileo received no official prohibition, but only the Cardinal's private admonition not to defend or hold the Copernican doctrine. It is said that on March 11th, a week after the decree had been issued, Galileo had an interview with Pope Paul V., in which he assured the Pope of the rectitude of his intentions and complained of the persecution of his adversaries. Paul V. answered very kindly, stating that both himself and the Cardinals of the Index had formed the highest opinion of him and did not believe his calumniators.

Cardinal de Monte also wrote to the Grand Duke to bear witness that Galileo was leaving Rome with the best reputation and the approval of all who

have had transactions with him; for it had been made manifest how unjust were the calumnies of his enemies. It seems, however, that Galileo's aggressiveness of manner was likely to do him harm, and so he was recalled at once to Florence.

IV. FROM 1617 TO 1632

THUS closed the first episode of the Galilean tragedy. What will puzzle the reader is the apparent discrepancy between the unofficial favour which was shown to Galileo's theories by popes and cardinals, and the official stand taken against the same by the Congregations—especially as their proceedings were known to the Pope and ordered by him to be published. This seeming inconsistency becomes intelligible if we view it in the light of a compromise between two parties. The favour in which Galileo was held by one section explains why Galileo himself and his writings should be spared the stigma of nominal condemnation. On the other hand, the alarmist cry about faith and the Scriptures had to be met; and this was done by the censure of certain other books containing the same theory, and by the announcement that Galileo had been ordered to abandon his view and had acquiesced. The official assertion that the Pythagorean theory was "false and altogether opposed to Scripture," though objectively wrong, is at least excusable and explainable on subjective grounds, namely, that the

theologians of that day were immovably convinced of the soundness of their traditional interpretation; and quite probably those who acted as theological experts were not at the same time scientific experts, or, if such, they had remained entirely unconvinced by the arguments of Galileo. Nor can it be claimed in that early stage of investigations that the new theory was irrefragably demonstrated. The officials of the time, it seems, did not object to the new theory being proposed *as a hypothesis*. This is shown by the fact that when in 1620 the correction of the book of Copernicus was undertaken by Cardinal Gaetani, the changes made were of the most trivial character—after which it was allowable to read the book, and its doctrines could be held by the faithful *ex hypothesi* and "without affirming anything." This official action four years later is a tacit acknowledgement that the condemnation of the Pythagorean theory as "false and altogether opposed to Scripture" was an exaggeration.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES

On his return to Florence, Galileo devoted fresh attention to the flux and reflux of the tides. No one at that time had the least notion that these movements were due to attraction of the moon. Galileo himself went on a wrong scent altogether, and worked out of the tides a false argument in favour of the Copernican theory, regarding them as

the visible effects of the twofold movement of the earth.

More solid work was done on Jupiter's satellites. Galileo, after six years' observation, thought that their positions could be utilised by sailors as a means of measuring longitude ; and he opened negotiations with the Court of Spain in the hope of winning a prize of 1000 crowns which had been offered for any successful method. His system, however, was so beset with difficulties that it never came into use.

IL SAGGIATORE

In August 1612, when three comets appeared in the sky, Galileo's explanation of them had been that they were not heavenly bodies but atmospheric condensations. On account of ill health he allowed his views to be put forth by a disciple, and it was only in 1622 that he wrote on the subject himself, in a work called *Il Saggiatore*—"The Assayer." The MS. was sent to Mgr. Cesarini in Rome, and for five months was handed round among the members of the Accademia dei Lincei, who examined it carefully and (with the author's consent) altered some passages which might have given a handle to his enemies. The papal *imprimatur* was given in February 1623.

While this work was in the press Cardinal Barberini succeeded to the papal throne (Aug. 8, 1623) under the title of Urban VIII. This was

tidings of great joy to Galileo. His friendship for Galileo while cardinal has already been noted. Several letters are extant which reveal his appreciation of Galileo's talents and discoveries ; and in the episode of 1616 his influence with Pope Paul V. had done much to extricate Galileo from his difficulties. We shall see later on the causes which turned this friend into a foe.

Il Saggiatore was published in 1623, with a dedication to Pope Urban VIII., who was delighted with the book, and had it read to him aloud at table. In it Galileo displayed, perhaps, more self-restraint in treating his opponents than was usual with him ; but the combined wit and pungency of his arguments only intensified the bitterness of his enemies, who were always exhibited in the most sorry light. As a specimen of Galileo's cutting style, it will refresh our readers to peruse the following extract.

Sarsi had quoted a story from Suidas (in support of his argument that motion always produces heat) to the effect that the Babylonians used to cook their eggs by whirling them in a sling. To this Galileo replied :—

" I cannot refrain from marvelling that Sarsi will persist in proving to me, by authorities, that which at any moment I can bring to the test of experiment. We examine witnesses in things which are doubtful, past, and not permanent, but not in those things which are done in our presence. If discussing a difficult problem were like carrying a weight,

since several horses will carry more sacks of corn than one alone will, I would agree that many reasoners avail more than one; but discoursing is like coursing, and not like carrying, and one barb by himself will run farther than a hundred Friesland horses. When Sarsi brings up such a multitude of authors, it does not seem to me that he in the least degree strengthens his own conclusions, but he ennobles the cause of Signor Mario and myself, by showing that we reason better than many men of established reputation. If Sarsi insists that I must believe, on Suidas's credit, that the Babylonians cooked eggs by swiftly whirling them in a sling, I will believe it; but I must say, that the cause of such an effect is very remote from that to which it is attributed, and to find the true cause I shall reason thus:—If an effect does not follow with us which followed with others at another time, it is because, in our experiment, something is wanting which was the cause of the former success; and if only one thing is wanting to us, that one thing is the true cause. Now, we have eggs, and slings, and strong men to whirl them, and yet they will not become cooked; nay, if they were hot at first, they more quickly become cold; and since nothing is wanting to us but to be Babylonians, it follows that being Babylonians is the true cause why the eggs became cooked and not the friction of the air, which is what I wish to prove. Is it possible that in travelling post, Sarsi has never noticed what freshness is

occasioned on the face by the continual change of air? and if he has felt it, will he rather trust the relation by others of what was done two thousand years ago at Babylon, than what he can at this moment verify in his own person? I, at least, will not be so wilfully wrong, and so ungrateful to nature and to God that, having been gifted with sense and language, I should voluntarily set less value on such great endowments than on the fallacies of a fellow-man, and blindly and blunderingly believe whatever I hear, and barter the freedom of my intellect for slavery to one as liable to error as myself."

Early in 1625, the book was anonymously denounced to the Inquisition as being a veiled defence of the Copernican doctrines; and a movement was begun to prohibit it, or at least to have it corrected. But the attempt failed. The General of the Theatines, to whom it was submitted for examination, reported most favourably of it; remarking that even if the doctrine of the earth's motion had been maintained, this would not be a sufficient reason for condemning it.

GALILEO AND URBAN VIII

On the accession of Urban VIII., Galileo had conceived the plan of going to Rome to present his congratulations in person. After a delay on account of sickness, he at last set out in 1624. He had no fewer than six interviews with the new Pope, who received him affably and heard his arguments in

support of the Copernican theory. What change had come over Barberini's mind is not clear. Perhaps his sense of official responsibility in view of the attitude of the Inquisition explains everything. But at anyrate he merely listened to Galileo without favouring his views, and would not dream of revoking the decree of 1616. He contented himself with heaping personal favours on Galileo, and with writing to the Grand Duke a long appreciation of Galileo's services to science, and of his religious spirit.

Thus disappointed, Galileo returned to Florence and devoted himself to the improvement of the microscope, of which he distributed specimens. He next wrote a reply to an attack on the Copernican system which had been addressed to him in the year 1616. Though he astutely professed to treat the matter as a theory only and not as a fact, his friends advised him not to publish it. He, therefore, merely sent it round in MS. ; and when certain passages were culled from it and sent to Urban VIII., the Pope, instead of condemning them, expressed his highest approval. It even appeared that when Cardinal Zollern in 1624 represented that all the heretics of Europe considered the truth of the Copernican theory beyond doubt, and therefore it would be necessary to be very circumspect in coming to any resolution upon it, His Holiness replied that the Church had not condemned it, nor was it to be condemned as heretical, but only as rash ; adding, however, that there was no fear of anyone under-

taking to prove that it must be true. These and other indications tended to confirm Galileo in the view that under the pontificate of Urban VIII. Copernicanism had little to fear, provided the defence was handled so carefully as not to outrage the decree of 1616. Under this impression (which proved to be a mistaken one) Galileo undertook his great *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the World*, which occupied him for several years.

THE "DIALOGUE"

In the beginning of the year 1630 he had completed the text of the *Dialogue*, and proposed to go to Rome in person to get it printed there. His hopes were increased by hearing the following incident:—A Dominican friar had been on the point of converting certain German nobles to the Church; but when they heard of the prohibition of the Copernican theory they were entirely repelled. On learning this Pope Urban VIII. replied: "It was never our intention, and, if it had depended on us, that decree would not have been passed." This encouraged Galileo to set out for Rome, where he had a long audience with the Pope about his book. His Holiness would not object to the publication, but certain conditions would have to be fulfilled. The title must indicate that it is a frank discussion of the merits of the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems; the subject must be treated from a purely hypo-

thetical standpoint, and this must be set forth in the preface. Finally, the book must conclude with an argument which Urban VIII. himself had communicated to Galileo in 1624, and which His Holiness considered unanswerable. This argument ran as follows:—"God is all powerful; all things are therefore possible to him. Therefore the tides cannot be adduced as a *necessary* proof of the double motion of the earth without limiting God's omnipotence—which is absurd."

Galileo, rather than forgo the publication of his work, accepted these conditions. The MS. was submitted to the papal censor and then to his assistant, who went carefully through it, altered many passages, and finally approved the work thus revised. The *Imprimatur* was then given for publication in Rome, on the understanding that a preface and conclusions should be added in accordance with the Pope's wishes. Being hindered by sundry delays from printing the work in Rome, he arranged to have it done in Florence, and suggested that the revision should also be carried out there. This being agreed to, the work finally appeared in February 1632. Presentation copies were sent to Rome and read with applause in some quarters, but with consternation among Galileo's enemies—and also among some of his friends. Various attempts were made to fix discredit on the book, and at last it was noticed that the "weighty argument" of the Pope, at the conclusion, had been put in the mouth of

Simplicio—the inference being that by Simplicio no other was intended than the Pope himself. Simplicio —one of the three among whom the *Dialogue* is distributed—is really the simpleton of the book, who is constantly made a laughing-stock to the reader on account of the *naïveté* of his arguments and the facetious way in which they are refuted.

THE POPE ALIENATED

Now, it seems to us utterly incredible that Galileo would consciously do such a foolish thing as to make fun of the Pope, in a work the very publication and acceptability of which depended upon his personal favour. But it is wonderful how easy it is to poison the mind ; and how easy, when the mind is poisoned, to find incrimination in the most innocent things. The Pope, we are told, was fearfully angry. Being in this condition, it would be easy for the enemies of Galileo to work on his feelings, and persuade him that the Copernican doctrine ran counter to the Catholic faith and that the *Dialogues* would therefore do incalculable harm to the Church. They went further, and tried to make out that Galileo had in a veiled manner dared once more to interpret Holy Scripture ; that, therefore, he was contumacious to authority ; and finally, that he had secured the *Imprimatur* by cunning devices.

According to Fahie, this idea of a personal insult to the Pope is the real key to the puzzle ; the ex-

planation of the severe treatment which Galileo subsequently received at the hands of the Inquisition ; and the real reason why the Pope, who had hitherto been so favourable to Galileo, now turned against him. Fahie, however, puts the matter too strongly when he says that in the subsequent proceedings against Galileo the Pope's "revenge for a personal insult" was the primary and determining factor. We consider this too strong, not because we are bound in any way to defend the reputation of Urban VIII. in this matter, but simply because we think the explanation superficial in point of psychology. As far as we can gather, Urban VIII. had no very strong convictions in science, nor was he noted as a keen theologian. Galileo wrote of him in 1624 that "as to the truth or falsehood of the theory, he accepts neither Ptolemy nor Copernicus, but rather believes that the heavenly bodies are moved and regulated by angels without difficulty or entanglement." But a man in his position as head of the Church is not altogether free to follow his own personal views. He is surrounded by advisers and conditioned by a large apparatus of official departments, in whose competency he must place confidence. The free and independent opinions of individuals in favour of the Galilean doctrines could never have the same weight with him as the verdict of his departmental specialists ; and it is certain that the preponderance of opinion in ecclesiastical ranks was on the conservative side and dead against the

innovations of Copernicanism. The severe view was already embodied in the official decree of 1616, and this he evidently felt bound to uphold until convincing reasons were brought forward to the contrary. His own want of personal conviction led him, as we have seen, out of motives of expediency, to minimise the import of this decree when it was a question of the edification or disedification of outsiders; but when within the fold itself he found any man ignoring the decree and acting contrary to it, and especially betraying a spirit of contempt for authority, the same motive of expediency would naturally lead him to sanction severity of treatment, if its desirability were strongly urged upon him by the importunities of influential persons. Such elasticity of administration is common to all rulership and is not peculiar to the Court of Rome. Consequently, it would not need much to turn Urban's easy, good-natured policy of previous years into a policy of disciplinary sharpness as soon as he discovered signs of a contumacious spirit. No doubt the insinuation of a personal insult may have been one of the factors of the change—for it is far easier to adopt drastic measures with persons out of favour than with persons in favour. But it is quite possible that, quite apart from his personal feelings, the Pope was beginning conscientiously to regard Galileo as a *dyskolos* or unmanageable subject, and thus sanctioned and even threw himself into the adverse movement, with the view of teaching Galileo himself and others

of the same temper a salutary lesson of submission. Still, however favourable our speculations may be as to the uprightness of the Pope's motives, it is certainly acknowledged, even by Catholic writers, that the accusation of "poking fun at the Pope" did alienate the sympathies of one who had been hitherto the philosopher's friend, and who otherwise might once more have tided him over his new difficulties.

V. FROM 1632 TO 1633

GALILEO, meantime, quite unaware of the turn affairs had taken in Rome, was just in the heyday of his rejoicings at the success of his book, when suddenly his publisher, Landini, received instructions forbidding the sale of the *Dialogues*. A few days later a special commission was appointed in Rome, by order of the Pope, under the presidency of his nephew, Cardinal F. Barberini, and composed of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Theatines. In answer to Galileo's appeal for protection, the Duke wrote to Rome asking that the accusations should be sent to Florence so as to give Galileo a chance of defending himself. To this demand the Pope answered the Duke's messenger: "Your Galileo has dared to meddle in things that he ought to have left alone; in fact, with the most important and dangerous things that can be stirred up in these days." When it was requested that at least the charges might be communicated to Galileo, the Pope answered; "Galileo knows well enough in what way he has transgressed. In these matters of the Holy Office, nothing is ever done but to pronounce judgement, and then summon to recant."

After a month's sitting the special commission submitted a long report to the Pope. After recounting the negotiations for printing the work, three accusations are made against the author :—

"1. Galileo has transgressed orders in deviating from the hypothetical standpoint, by maintaining decidedly that the earth moves and that the sun is stationary.

"2. He has erroneously ascribed the phenomena of the tides to the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth, which is not true.

"3. He has been deceitfully silent about the command laid upon him in 1616, viz. to relinquish altogether the opinion that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth moves : nor henceforth to hold, teach, or defend it in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing."

Then follows the remark : "It now remains to be considered what proceedings are to be taken against the person of the author, and against his printed book." The rest of the document is taken up with an elaboration of the charges against Galileo, and a fuller account of the negotiations for the *Imprimatur*.

The accusation No. 3 evidently harks back to the document of 26th February, 1616, the genuineness of which has been called in question. Fahie lays great stress on this point, especially as Galileo himself, later on, disavowed all remembrance of any such injunction. Those who hold the injunction to be

genuine will, however, find here nothing but a convenient *lapsus memoriæ*.

A few days later the Pope sent word to the Tuscan ambassador that Galileo's affairs would be handed over to the Inquisition. On 23rd September the following order was issued :—

"His Holiness charges the Inquisitor at Florence to inform Galileo, in the name of the Holy Office, that he is to appear in the course of the month of October, in Rome, before the Commissary-General. He must obtain a promise from Galileo to obey this order, which the Inquisitor is to deliver in the presence of a notary and witnesses, but in such a way that Galileo shall know nothing of their presence, so that if he refuse to obey they may bear witness to his contumacy."

On 19th November Galileo was summoned before the Inquisitor at Florence, and the order was communicated to him in the manner prescribed. Galileo, whose health had been failing for some years back, pleaded incapacity for travel, and procured a medical certificate to that effect. On 30th December there came a papal order which brooked no delay ; so on 20th January 1633 he set out in the grand-ducal litter, accompanied by a doctor, and reached Rome on 13th February. The favour was asked for and granted that he should be lodged at the house of the Tuscan ambassador instead of the prison of the Inquisition. Weeks passed and nothing more occurred, the Holy Office being engaged with the

preliminaries. Galileo, meantime, was preparing his own defence; but, on the advice of his friends, in view of the strong bias against him, he finally gave up all idea of opposition and resolved on entire submission.

THE INQUISITION PROCESS

On 12th April 1633 Galileo appeared for his first examination before the Commissary-General of the Inquisition. On being asked about the admonition he had received in 1616, his answers showed that he only knew that of Cardinal Bellarmine mentioned in the certificate of 26th May 1616; and he avowed his total unconsciousness of any stringent command such as that contained in the official document of 26th February. For the rest, Galileo declared he did not consider that in writing his book he had acted contrary to, still less disobeyed, the command not to hold or defend the opinions in question. "I have never either maintained or defended the opinion that the earth moves and that the sun is stationary, but have demonstrated the opposite, and shown that the arguments of Copernicus are weak and inconclusive." This statement is of course manifestly evasive. It is notorious throughout the history that Galileo was the great champion of the Copernican theory, and that his constant aim was to demonstrate that doctrine and to refute the contrary theory. In conversation he never made any secret of his con-

victions ; and the attitude assumed in his writings was never anything but a dodge to evade the attacks of his enemies. This was, moreover, perfectly well known to everybody ; and so Galileo's protestation that he had never held or defended that doctrine must be regarded as a dissimulation due to the official pressure which was put upon him, justifiable only in the technical sense of the plea of "not guilty."

Three days later, on 15th April, the Counsellors of the Holy Office delivered their opinions on the case : (1) That the *Dialogues* did maintain the doctrine that the earth moves and that the sun is stationary ; (2) that Galileo not only taught this doctrine but held it personally even to this day ; (3) that the publication of the *Dialogues* was an infringement of the order of 1616.

The second examination, which took place on 30th April, reveals a total change of front on the part of Galileo, who now, instead of repeating his previous denials, spontaneously acknowledged that he had defended these doctrines. The explanation was that in the interim he had been visited privately by the Commissary-General and persuaded to make a clean breast of his fault as the only chance of appealing to the mercy of the Court. Time was permitted to him to prepare a formal statement ; and so, on the 30th, when asked what he had to say, Galileo proceeded to make the following abject and humiliating confession :—

"In the course of some days' continuous and attentive reflection on the interrogations put to me on the 12th of the present month, and in particular as to whether sixteen years ago an injunction was intimated to me by order of the Holy Office forbidding me to hold, defend, or teach, in any manner, the opinion that had just been condemned—of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun—it occurred to me to reperuse my printed *Dialogues* (which for three years I had not seen), in order carefully to note whether, contrary to my most sincere intention, there had by any inadvertence fallen from my pen anything from which a reader or the authorities might infer not only some taint of disobedience on my part, but also other particulars which might induce the belief that I had contravened the orders of Holy Church. And being by the kind permission of the authorities at liberty to send about my servant, I succeeded in procuring a copy of my book, and having procured it I applied myself with the utmost diligence to its perusal and to a most minute consideration thereof. And, owing to my not having seen it for so long, it presented itself to me as if it were a new writing and by another author. I freely confess that in several places it seemed to me set forth in such a form that a reader ignorant of my real purpose might have had reason to suppose that the arguments adduced on the false side, and which it was my intention to refute, were so expressed as to

be calculated rather to compel conviction by their cogency than to be easy of refutation. Two arguments there are in particular—the one taken from the sun-spots, the other from the ebb and flow of the tide—which in truth come to the ear of the reader with far greater show of force and power than ought to have been imparted to them by one who regarded them as inconclusive and who intended to refute them; as, indeed, I truly and sincerely held and do hold them to be inconclusive and admitting of refutation. And as excuse to myself for having fallen into an error so foreign to my intention, not contenting myself merely with saying that when a man recites the arguments of the opposite side with the object of refuting them, he should, especially if writing in the form of dialogue, state them in their strictest form, and should not cloak them to the disadvantage of his opponent;—not contenting myself with saying this, I now see I was misled by that natural complacency which every man feels with regard to his own subtleties, and in showing himself more skilful than the generality of men in devising, even in favour of false propositions, ingenious and plausible arguments. However, although with Cicero *avidior sim gloriæ quam satis est,* if I had now to set forth the same reasonings, without doubt I should so weaken them that they should not be able to make an apparent show of force of which they are really and essentially devoid. My error, then, has been—

and I confess it—one of vainglorious ambition and of pure ignorance and inadvertence.

"This is what occurs to me to say with reference to this particular, and what suggested itself to me during the reperusal of my book."

After making this humiliating declaration, Galileo was allowed to withdraw, and no questions were put to him; but he must have concluded from this silence or other signs that he had not gone far enough in the denial of his inmost convictions; perhaps this penitent acknowledgement of error and vainglory was not sufficient, and the Inquisitors would be conciliated by the resolution to publicly correct his error. Whatever prompted the impulse, he returned at once to the Court and spoke as follows:—

"And in confirmation of my assertion, that I have not held and do not hold as true the opinion which has been condemned, if there shall be granted to me, as I desire, means and time to make a clearer demonstration thereof, I am ready to do so; and there is a favourable opportunity for this, seeing that in the work the interlocutors agree to meet again after a certain time, to discuss several distinct problems of nature connected with the matter discussed at their meetings. As this affords me an opportunity of adding one or two other 'days,' I promise to take up the arguments already adduced in favour of the said opinion, which is false and has been condemned, and to confute them in such

according to the cant phrase, "thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition"; nor is there any truth in the idea that he was actually subjected to torture, since the Roman usage precluded its application after the age of sixty years. The following passage from Mr. Arthur Berry's *Short History of Astronomy* (University Extension Manuals, Murray, 1898) may be quoted as a non-Catholic endorsement of the foregoing:—"The three days June 21–24 are the only ones which Galilei *could*[1] have spent in an actual prison, and there seems no reason to suppose that they were spent elsewhere than in the comfortable rooms in which it is known that he lived during most of April" (p. 170, footnote).

[1] Italics of author.

VI. FROM 1633 TO 1642

FINALLY, on 22nd June, Galileo was conducted to the hall of the Dominican Convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, where in full assembly his sentence was read to him as follows :—

THE SENTENCE

"We, the undersigned,

GASPARO of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Borgia,
FRA FELICE CENTINO of S. Anastasia, called Ascoli,
GUIDO of Santa Maria del Popolo, Bentivoglio,
FRA DESIDERIO SCAGLIA of S. Carlo, called Cremona,
FRA ANTONIO BARBERINI, called S. Onofrio,
LAUDIVIO ZACCHIA of S. Pietro in Vincoli, called San-Sisto,
BERLINGERO of San Agostino, Gessi,
FABRIZIO of S. Lorenzo in Pane e Perna, Verospi,
FRANCESCO of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Barberini,
MARTINO of Santa Maria Nuova, Ginetti,

by the grace of God, Cardinals of the Holy

Roman Church, Inquisitors General throughout the whole Christian Republic, Special Deputies of the Holy Apostolical Chair against heretical depravity :

" Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzio Galilei, of Florence, aged 70 years, were denounced, in 1615, to this Holy Office, for holding as true a false doctrine taught by many, namely, that the sun is immovable in the centre of the world, and that the earth moves, and also with a diurnal motion ; also for having pupils whom you instructed in the same opinions ; also for maintaining a correspondence on the same with some German mathematicians ; also for publishing certain letters on the sun-spots, in which you developed the same doctrine as true ; also for answering the objections which were continually produced from the Holy Scriptures, by glozing the said Scriptures according to your own meaning ; and whereas thereupon was produced the copy of a writing, in form of a letter, professedly written by you to a person formerly your pupil, in which, following the hypothesis of Copernicus, you include several propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the Holy Scriptures ; therefore (this Holy Tribunal being desirous of providing against the disorder and mischief which were thence proceeding and increasing to the detriment of the Holy Faith), by the desire of his Holiness and of the Most Eminent Lords, Cardinals of this supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth

were qualified by the Theological Qualifiers as follows :—

"1. The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable from its place is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical ; because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scriptures.

"2. The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is also absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.

"But whereas, being pleased at that time to deal mildly with you, it was decreed in the Holy Congregation, held before his Holiness on the twenty-fifth day of February 1616, that his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine should enjoin you to give up altogether the said false doctrine ; and, if you should refuse, that you should be ordered by the Commissary of the Holy Office to relinquish it, not to teach it to others, nor to defend it ; and in default of acquiescence, that you should be imprisoned ; and whereas in execution of this decree, on the following day, at the Palace, in presence of his Eminence the said Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, after you had been mildly admonished by the said Lord Cardinal, you were commanded by the Commissary of the Holy Office, before a notary and witnesses, to relinquish altogether the said false opinion, and, in future, neither to defend nor teach it in any manner, neither verbally nor in writing,

and upon your promising obedience you were dismissed.

"And, in order that so pernicious a doctrine might be altogether rooted out, nor insinuate itself further to the heavy detriment of the Catholic truth, a decree emanated from the Holy Congregation of the Index prohibiting the books which treat of this doctrine, declaring it false and altogether contrary to the Holy and Divine Scripture.

"And whereas a book has since appeared published at Florence last year, the title of which showed that you were the author, which title is *The Dialogue of Galileo Galilei, on the Two Principal Systems of the World—the Ptolemaic and Copernican*; and whereas the Holy Congregation has heard that, in consequence of printing the said book, the false opinion of the earth's motion and stability of the sun is daily gaining ground, the said book has been taken into careful consideration, and in it has been detected a glaring violation of the said order, which had been intimated to you; inasmuch as in this book you have defended the said opinion, already, and in your presence, condemned; although, in the same book, you labour with many circumlocutions to induce the belief that it is left by you undecided and merely probable, which is equally a very grave error, since an opinion can in no way be probable which has been already declared and finally determined contrary to the Divine Scripture. Therefore, by Our order, you have been cited to this Holy

Office, where, on your examination upon oath, you have acknowledged the said book as written and printed by you. You also confessed that you began to write the said book ten or twelve years ago, after the order aforesaid had been given. Also that you had demanded licence to publish it, without signifying to those who granted you this permission that you had been commanded not to hold, defend, or teach the said doctrine in any manner. You also confessed that the style of the said book was, in many places, so composed that the reader might think the arguments adduced on the false side to be so worded as more effectually to compel conviction than to be easily refutable, alleging, in excuse, that you had thus run into an error, foreign (as you say) to your intention, from writing in the form of a dialogue, and in consequence of the natural complacency which every one feels with regard to his own subtleties, and in showing himself more skilful than the generality of mankind in contriving, even in favour of false propositions, ingenious and plausible arguments.

"And, upon a convenient time being given you for making your defence, you produced a certificate in the handwriting of his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, procured, as you said, by yourself, that you might defend yourself against the calumnies of your enemies, who reported that you had abjured your opinions, and had been punished by the Holy Office; in which certificate it is declared that you

had not abjured nor had been punished, but merely that the declaration made by his Holiness, and promulgated by the Holy Congregation of the Index, had been announced to you, which declares that the opinion of the motion of the earth and stability of the sun is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and, therefore, cannot be held or defended. Wherefore, since no mention is there made of two articles of the order, to wit, the order 'not to teach' and 'in any manner,' you argued that We ought to believe that in the lapse of fourteen or sixteen years they had escaped your memory, and that this was also the reason why you were silent as to the order when you sought permission to publish your book, and that this is said by you, not to excuse your error, but that it may be attributed to vainglorious ambition rather than to malice. But this very certificate, produced on your behalf, has greatly aggravated your offence, since it is therein declared that the said opinion is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and yet you have dared to treat of it, and to argue that it is probable. Nor is there any extenuation in the licence, artfully and cunningly extorted by you, since you did not intimate the command imposed upon you. But whereas it appeared to Us that you had not disclosed the whole truth with regard to your intention, We thought it necessary to proceed to the rigorous examination of you, in which (without any prejudice to what you had confessed, and which is above detailed against you, with regard

to your said intention) you answered like a good Catholic.

"Therefore, having seen and maturely considered the merits of your cause, with your said confessions and excuses, and everything else which ought to be seen and considered, We have come to the underwritten final sentence against you :—

"Invoking, therefore, the Most Holy Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His Most Glorious Virgin Mother, Mary, We pronounce this Our final sentence, which, sitting in council and judgement with the Reverend Masters of Sacred Theology and Doctors of both Laws, Our Assessors, We put forth in this writing in regard to the matters and controversies between the Magnificent Carlo Sincero, Doctor of both Laws, Fiscal Proctor of the Holy Office, of the one part : and you, Galileo Galilei, defendant, tried and confessed as above, of the other part : We pronounce, judge, and declare, that you, the said Galileo, by reason of these things which have been detailed in the course of this writing, and which, as above, you have confessed, have rendered yourself vehemently suspected by this Holy Office of heresy, that is, of having believed and held the doctrine (which is false and contrary to the Holy and Divine Scriptures) that the sun is the centre of the world and that it does not move from east to west, and that the earth does move, and is not the centre of the world ; also, that an opinion can be held and supported as probable after it has been declared

and finally decreed contrary to the Holy Scripture; and, consequently, that you have incurred all the censures and penalties enjoined and promulgated in the sacred canons and other general and particular constitutions against delinquents of this description. From which it is Our pleasure that you be absolved, provided that with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, in Our presence, you abjure, curse, and detest the said errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome, in the form now shown you.

"But that your grievous and pernicious error and transgression may not go altogether unpunished, and that you may be made more cautious in future, and may be a warning to others to abstain from delinquencies of this sort, We decree that the book *Dialogues of Galileo Galilei* be prohibited by a public edict,[1] and We condemn you to the formal prison of this Holy Office for a period determinable at Our pleasure; and by way of salutary penance We order you during the next three years to recite, once a week, the seven penitential psalms, reserving to Ourselves the power of moderating, commuting, or taking off the whole or part of the said punishment or penance.

"And so We say, pronounce, and by Our sentence declare, decree, and reserve, in this and in every other better form and manner, which lawfully We

[1] A decree of the Index to this effect was published on August 23rd, 1634.

may and can use. So We, the subscribing Cardinals, pronounce.

"FELIX, Cardinal di Ascoli.
"GUIDO, Cardinal Bentivoglio.
"DESIDERIO, Cardinal di Cremona.
"ANTONIO, Cardinal S. Onofrio.
"BERLINGERO, Cardinal Gessi.
"FABRIZIO, Cardinal Verospi.
"MARTINO, Cardinal Ginetti."

THE ABJURATION

In conformity with the foregoing sentence, Galileo was made to kneel before the Inquisition, and make the following abjuration :—

"I, Galileo Galilei, son of the late Vincenzio Galilei of Florence, aged seventy years, being brought personally to judgement, and kneeling before you, Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords, Cardinals, General Inquisitors of the Universal Christian Republic against heretical depravity, having before my eyes the Holy Gospels which I touch with my own hands, swear that I have always believed, and, with the help of God, will in future believe, every article which the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome holds, teaches, and preaches. But because I have been enjoined, by this Holy Office, altogether to abandon the false opinion which maintains that the sun is the centre and immovable, and forbidden to hold, defend, or teach the said false doctrine in any manner; and

because, after it had been signified to me that the said doctrine is repugnant to the Holy Scripture, I have written and printed a book, in which I treat of the same condemned doctrine, and adduce reasons with great force in support of the same, without giving any solution, and therefore have been judged grievously suspected of heresy; that is to say, that I held and believed that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and movable, I am willing to remove from the minds of your Eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion rightly entertained towards me, therefore, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I abjure, curse, and detest the said errors and heresies, and generally every other error and sect contrary to the said Holy Church; and I swear that I will nevermore in future say or assert anything, verbally or in writing, which may give rise to a similar suspicion of me; but that if I shall know any heretic, or anyone suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor and Ordinary of the place in which I may be. I swear, moreover, and promise that I will fulfil and observe fully all the penances which have been or shall be laid on me by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that I violate any of my said promises, oaths, and protestations (which God avert!), I subject myself to all the pains and punishments which have been decreed and promulgated by the sacred canons and other general and particular con-

stitutions against delinquents of this description. So, may God help me, and His Holy Gospels, which I touch with my own hands, I, the above-named Galileo Galilei, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself as above; and, in witness thereof, with my own hand have subscribed this present writing of my abjuration, which I have recited word for word.

"At Rome, in the Convent of Minerva, 22nd June, 1633, I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured as above with my own hand."

The fact that, whereas the names of ten cardinals appear in the preamble, only seven subscribed at the conclusion, has been interpreted as if showing non-acquiescence in the sentence on the part of three cardinals; but this is explainable on the ground of accidental absence. It is also to be noted that none of the decrees or orders in the Galileo case bear the Papal signature or official ratification. Controversialists in trying to vindicate the Church have sometimes laid undue stress on this fact, which, however, has no vital significance. Many acts of the Congregations are similarly devoid of such Papal confirmation, and are nevertheless valid. In the case of Galileo we know perfectly well that the Popes of the time were fully conversant with the proceedings, which could not have come into effect without their approval. Urban VIII. in particular may have desired to keep in the background for one or both of two reasons: (1) knowing that a real or

supposed personal affront to himself was involved in the case, he might not wish to give the impression of personal hostility by attaching his signature; (2) motives of expediency may have led him to keep out of the business officially, and to leave it to be treated departmentally, lest the name of the Papacy itself should be too publicly associated with an act which was to a great extent mixed up with bitter party feelings, and might in the end prove to be a mistake.

We have seen that in point of personal handling Galileo was treated with unusual leniency, and in fact with special consideration. His imprisonment (so-called) was nothing more than a form of seclusion on parole. The mention of torture was merely in accordance with the usual formulas, at a time when torture was still part of the normal procedure of civil as well as ecclesiastical courts. It is certain that no torture was applied; and probably it was not even contemplated. Finally we may mention, only to dismiss, the fable according to which Galileo, when rising from his knees after his abjuration, muttered in secret protest: "*Eppur si muove*"—"And yet the earth *does* move." The earliest mention of this story only occurs in 1761, more than a century after the event. It is improbable that Galileo would have been so foolish as to run the risk which such an ejaculation, if overheard, would have involved.

LAST YEARS AND DEATH

After the abjuration was over, Galileo's sentence of imprisonment was commuted into seclusion at the villa of the Grand Duke of Tuscany near Rome, which was to be regarded as his prison. His condemnation was sent to all Papal nuncios and inquisitors, and read publicly to the professors and students at Padua and Florence. Copies of the forbidden book were searched for and destroyed, while those who had been instrumental in giving the *Imprimatur* suffered for it in various ways. In reply to Galileo's request to be allowed to return to Florence the Pope answered: "We must proceed gently and only rehabilitate him by degrees."

He was soon allowed to retire to Siena, where he became an honoured guest of the Archbishop. Here he began a new work called *Dialogues on the New Sciences.* Later on in the year he was permitted to return to his villa at Arcetri near Florence, but was not allowed to go to the city. The *Dialogues on the New Sciences*, which dealt with concussion, resistance to fracture, and uniform, accelerated, and projectile motion, were completed in 1636. Then came the question of publication. On the principle, perhaps, that "the burnt child fears the fire"—or as the proverb has it, "once bit, twice shy"—he had not the courage to offer his book for ecclesiastical censorship; hence he tried the subterfuge of publication outside the range of the Inquisi-

tion, and the work appeared at Amsterdam in 1638 on the pretence that it was pirated from a private MS. copy. It is even stated that he evaded the prohibition of his *Dialogue on the Two Systems* by encouraging its publication in Latin at Strasburg. The first edition appeared in 1635; while another edition, with corrections dictated by Galileo himself, followed in 1641.

His sight, which had been failing for some years, now grew so bad that he lost the use of one eye. This led his friends to renew their entreaties with the Pope. "They endeavoured" (wrote Galileo to one of them in 1636) "to convince His Holiness that I never had such an iniquitous thought as to make game of him, as my wretched enemies had persuaded him—which was the prime mover of all my troubles. At length the Holy Father pronounced my exculpation, saying, 'We believe it, We believe it now'—adding, however, all the same, that the reading of the *Dialogues* was most pernicious to Christianity." In the end leave was given him to return to Florence to live in "his son's little house," but under orders not to discuss the forbidden doctrines or to go about publicly in the city; though he was allowed to drive out of the city to his villa at Arcetri. In 1639 Galileo finally returned to his villa and remained there, where he became quite blind, and dragged on a suffering existence till, on 8th January 1642, he died at the age of seventy-eight, fortified by the last rites of the Church and the benediction of Urban VIII., and was buried in the church of Santa Croce.

VII. REVIEW OF THE CASE

HAVING given the whole of the case more or less without comment, we now proceed to weigh its import from various points of view.

THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC VIEW

At the present day no one in civilized life could, without being suspected of lunacy, maintain the geocentric system of astronomy which Galileo opposed, or entertain any serious doubt about the heliocentric system which Galileo maintained. Taking up any school text-book of to-day, you will find this latter system outlined briefly as follows :—The sun is the centre of our immediate astronomical environment. Round it revolve, in elliptical orbits, finely distinguishable on paper from a perfect circle, a number of planets, of which Mercury and Venus are nearest the sun ; the earth comes next ; outside this Mars, Saturn, and Jupiter, which are visible, and Uranus and Neptune, which are invisible to the naked eye. Round several of these planets there revolve smaller satellites called moons ; the earth having one, Mars

two, Jupiter eight, while Saturn with nine is also surrounded by disc-like rings, etc. The whole group is called the solar system, whose movements are determined by two opposing forces, formerly called centrifugal and centripetal; now better described as the tendency of a spun-off body to fly away from its centre in a tangential straight line, opposed by the force of gravitation drawing it back to the centre from which it has been spun—the elliptical orbits of the planets being produced by the oscillating balance of these two opposing forces. Outside this solar group are the stars, so inconceivably distant as to seem motionless and solitary; but probably each one is a solar group similar to our own. Relatively to the solar system itself the sun is a fixed immovable centre, but relatively to space in general the sun and its planets as a group are in motion, probably revolving round some distant centre, in conjunction with the whole collection of the stars.

The theory thus briefly outlined displays, of course, an immense advancement on Galileo's knowledge, but in essence it is the Copernican system for which Galileo fought and for which he was condemned. As for proof of its truth, we cannot say that it amounts to a demonstration of strict formal logic; but it is a theory which, first adopted as a hypothesis, has been found to work and to explain everything, and even to afford a reliable basis for anticipating future or unknown facts. And this verification has been carried on so long and so

minutely as to destroy all psychological disposition to doubt its truth.

THE MODERN THEOLOGICAL VIEW

The universal attitude of theologians with regard to this system is that it offers no difficulty in relation to revealed truth. It is true that the Scripture in many places uses language which corresponds to the older theory, and to the common estimate of the senses. The earth is spoken of as if it were the fixed centre of the world, while the sun and all the heavenly bodies are described as moving round or above the earth, etc. But it is a well-established principle that inspired writers could make use of such language according to the obvious appearance of things and the common estimate, without thereby committing themselves to any scientific position on the matter. Hence no attempt is made to appeal to Scripture as affording an argument against the conclusions of modern science; but the conclusions of modern science are accepted as facts, and the Scripture is interpreted in the light of the facts.

COMPARISON WITH GALILEO'S TIME

We are nowadays so secure on both these points that it never enters into our mind to feel any doubt or scruple on either of them. Hence it fills us with the deepest astonishment to think that the scientists or theologians of those days could have taken up the

attitude they did. Our sympathies are all with Galileo who was so unquestionably right, and against his enemies who were undoubtedly wrong—so much so, that we can hardly help looking upon them as the blindest of fanatics or the most malicious of demons engaged in a conspiracy against justice and truth.

In order to remove this dismal impression it is necessary to put on what we may call our "retrospective binoculars"—or, in other words, to tear ourselves out of our present environment and transfer ourselves back to those days, so as to enter into the minds of those who took part in the Galilean tragedy;—in short, to put ourselves in their place and to permeate ourselves with their ideas, and to begin to think as they thought. As soon as we have done this we shall come to the conclusion that had we lived when they lived, we probably should have acted just as they did.

This psychological metamorphosis is singularly difficult, just because there does not exist in modern times any analogical example to which we can appeal for an illustration. Imagine some genius or other suddenly conceiving a new system of astronomy, as subversive of the Copernican as the Copernican was of the Ptolemaic. On reading an account of his theory in the papers we should all stand aghast at his boldness and perverted ingenuity, and merely laugh at him as a maniac. If such a man offered to prove his thesis, we doubt whether any scientific man

of our own day would think it compatible with his self-respect to listen to him or to give him a chance —so convinced are we of the truth of our present system. But suppose the new discoverer really did force his way, and invited the world to look through an instrument which he had invented, and which revealed to us the sun, moon, and planets moving in a way totally different from the orthodox view—for instance, that every motion of the heavenly bodies was in a straight line, which only appeared to us a curve relatively to our own shifting position in space. Modern scientific enterprise would not be long in showing itself; and the more formidable the evidence offered, the more keen would our specialists be in their investigations, either to confirm or refute the new alleged phenomena by independent observations. Not many years would have passed before the whole case would be sifted, and our present system either confirmed and strengthened or else exploded and abandoned. We are quite accustomed in these days to the upsetting of long-cherished ideas, and are so prone to empiric verification that any new theory which has a leg to stand on will be allowed to stand on that leg as long as it can, and will even be furnished with another leg as soon as one can be found for it.

We in modern times are prepared and equipped for revolutionary theories in science in exactly the way in which the scientists of the seventeenth century were neither prepared nor equipped. The

modern scientific mind is dominated by five ideas :— (1) the re-verification of old facts ; (2) the free quest for new facts ; (3) the formation of a new hypothesis on new observed facts ; (4) the verification of the new hypothesis by further new facts ; (5) a disposition to regard all present knowledge as provisional, and to welcome the revision of it in favour of better knowledge.

The scientific mind of the Middle Ages was, on the contrary, dominated by five other ideas :—(1) the traditional acceptance of old facts which were taken for granted ; (2) a disposition to build up logical theories on these old facts, and to create a body of traditional doctrine to be handed down and improved upon intensively by closer analysis, but not to be questioned at its roots ; (3) reverence for philosophical authority as the starting-point of science, especially of Aristotle, the philosopher *par excellence* ; (4) a spirit of contentment with present knowledge, and a complacency in its *a priori* completeness ; (5) lastly, they were handicapped by a traditional interpretation of Scripture, which was taken as an authority not only in theology but also in science—so much so, that any scientific notion confirmed by the letter of the Bible received thereby the confirmation of God Himself, the source of all truth ; while any notion contrary to the letter of the Bible was *ipso facto* regarded with suspicion or even as out-and-out heresy.

GALILEO'S AGGRESSIVENESS

Turning now to Galileo and his earlier discoveries, we find three planes from which they might be viewed: (1) intrinsically as so many observed facts, with the inferences which follow from those facts; (2) extrinsically as conflicting with the traditional authority of Aristotle; (3) extrinsically as conflicting with the traditional authority of Scripture.

Suppose Galileo had kept quiet about philosophical questions, and had merely offered his discoveries of fact and waited till these had been widely accepted and adopted among the scientists around him. This would have gradually prepared the way to the undermining of Aristotle's teaching, and Galileo might have escaped the odium of shocking the prevailing reverence for authority, and have scored a victory instead of suffering a defeat. His aggressiveness may appear excusable and natural, but it was bad psychology. He began by "getting people's backs up," and therefore enlisted against himself all the prejudice and fanaticism which happened to exist in his environment. It requires heroic virtue for a professor, when suddenly told that his public teaching is all wrong, to accept the correction with humility, and to come down from his pedestal to sit at the feet of a youngster; and there were few of the pundits of the time capable of rising to this. The feeling of "being put in the wrong" is more than most people can stand.

We recognize how far from the spirit of true science were those professors; but this weakness is rooted in human nature, especially in pedagogic human nature, and is common to all time. Hence the set against Galileo in his earlier career is painfully inexcusable; but it is also painfully intelligible. Galileo suffered the usual fate of men who push in advance of their time. For the status of any period is measured by a certain aggregate; and, putting aside a number of minds as advanced as Galileo himself, the ordinary professor of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a creature hide-bound with traditional prejudices, touchy about his own prerogatives, and ill brooking correction. Against this stone wall of pedagogical pretension and prejudice Galileo playfully ran his head; and little wonder if his head was broken by the impact.

Had Galileo been able to put forth his observations and their concomitant theories on a purely scientific basis, this Aristotelian pig-headedness of the pedagogue would probably in the long-run have done him no harm. There were quite enough men of independent mind in the world of that time to take interest in his discoveries, and to accept the conclusions to which they might lead. Except for collegiate boycottings, which he could easily have outlived, there was no tribunal of science or philosophy possessing the power to do him any hurt. The real mischief, of course, came from the traditional theology. It matters little that Galileo

himself never dreamed of entering into theological discussions till they were forced upon him. So long as the traditional view of the Scripture was in existence the conflict was inevitable. It is true that, as we have seen, there were many minds which could accept the Copernican theory without feeling any difficulty on the score of Scripture; and the Church was not irrevocably committed to the prevailing method of interpretation. But the prevailing interpretation was there, and was upheld by the rank-and-file of theologians, to whom the revolutionary ideas of Galileo came as a severe and sudden shock. If only the conflict could have been averted until men's minds had become familiar with the new discoveries, and convinced of their truth and of the inferences which flowed from them, all would have been well. The theological mind would have undergone a gentle readjustment. There would have been no shaking down of old-time prejudices, no panic, no alarmist cry that faith and Scripture were in danger: and Galileo himself would have figured as a benefactor both to science and theology, instead of appearing as a reckless overthrower of both. In point of fact, Galileo's consistent policy was to thrust his views as offensively as possible upon those who disliked them, and even to force the Church authorities to an official decision in his favour, on a point which otherwise they might gladly have left alone.

These remarks apply chiefly to Galileo's earlier

relations with the Universities, which first started the tide of hostility against him. The later ecclesiastical opposition at Rome belongs to a somewhat different category, and must receive separate treatment.

VIII. THE OPPOSITION NOT DISTINCTIVELY CATHOLIC

PERHAPS the most vitiating fallacy prevalent among Protestant controversialists is to take for granted that the defects, both of the scientific and of the theological mind, in Galileo's time, arose from the fact that both scientists and theologians were Catholics—or in other words, that the distinctive creed of the Roman Church lay at the back of the whole mischief. It requires only a very slight insight into the history of the time to show that this is not the case. In other matters, such as the constitution and authority of the Church, the doctrines of the sacraments, of indulgences, of justification, of the cultus of saints, and the use of images and relics, etc., there was a polaric difference between the Catholic and the Protestant standpoint. But in questions regarding the authority and inspiration and the meaning of Scripture no such difference existed—I mean, none such as to affect the question before us. Similarly in science, the same traditional doctrines prevailed in both camps.

PROTESTANT MEN OF SCIENCE

It would not be difficult, with a little casting about among books, to prove this twofold point to demonstration. But for our present purpose let a single example suffice in each case. Lord Bacon was born in 1561 and died in 1626, and therefore stands practically contemporary with Galileo and Kepler. Lord Bacon has been habitually called "the Father of Modern Science," and it is one of the glories of Protestantism to claim him as its own. Lord Bacon's fame in this regard rests upon his two works: *The Great Instauration* and the *Novum Organon.* It is to his credit that he was instrumental in bringing forward the necessity of a more inductive study of nature as a check on the *a priorism* of the mediæval schools. But his merit both as a philosopher and a scientist has been highly overrated; and the comparative exiguity of his claims has been repeatedly recognized by independent writers, both Catholics and non-Catholics. De Maistre states that "Bacon in his philosophy deceives himself equally in that which he aims at, and the means he takes to attain it. He discovered little of what he pretends to have discovered. His *Novum Organon* is replete with the prejudices which possessed him. He makes flaring blunders in astronomy, in logic, in physics, in natural history, and fills his pages with childish observations, trifling experiments, and ridiculous explanations." Lest this

view be discounted by the fact that it proceeds from a Catholic writer, let us listen to Ueberweg, a non-Catholic, who says: "Bacon's development of the principles of his method was in many respects a failure; and his attempt to apply those principles by personal investigation is not to be compared with the achievements of earlier and contemporaneous investigators of nature." Professor Draper, also not a Catholic, writes:—"Bacon never received the Copernican system. With the audacity of ignorance he presumed to criticize what he did not understand, and with a superb conceit disparaged the great Copernicus. The more we examine the writings of Lord Bacon the more unworthy does he seem to have been of the great reputation which has been assigned to him. The popular delusion, to which he owes so much, originated at a time when the history of science was unknown. This boasted founder of a new philosophy could not comprehend and would not accept the greatest of all scientific discoveries when it was plainly set before his eyes."

The instances of false assumption which the conservative scientists of Italy opposed to Galileo's discoveries seem to us truly ridiculous in many cases; but they are not in any way more so than those which we find scattered over the works of Lord Bacon. Among his aphorisms occur the following:—"Wooden arrows without an iron point penetrate farther into wooden substance than the

same arrows pointed with iron, owing to the similarity of substance"; "It is certain that in projectiles the impact is not so violent at too short a distance as a little afterwards"; "There is a singular motion of attraction between quicksilver and gold; and those who work surrounded by the vapours of quicksilver are wont to hold a piece of gold in their mouths to collect the exhalations, which would otherwise attack the head and bones; and this piece of gold soon grows white"; "There is no expansive motion to be allowed for ignited iron, for it does not swell its bulk under the influence of heat, but retains the same apparent dimensions." He also describes an experiment by which he succeeded in reducing water to seven-eighths of its original volume by pressure! "Every tangible body with which we are acquainted contains an invisible and intangible spirit, over which it is drawn, and which it seems to clothe. The departure or emission of this spirit is rendered sensible in the rust of metals," etc., etc. Bacon's collection of experimental problems called the *Silva Silvarum* is full of similar scientific fictions which Bacon implicitly takes for granted, any of which could have easily been refuted by a single carefully conducted experiment. But what is most to our point is the fact that Bacon categorically rejected the whole Copernican system, and spoke of Copernicus as "a man who thinks nothing of introducing fictions of any kind into nature, provided his calculations turn out well." Whewell complains that

Bacon did not even understand the older system of Ptolemy which Copernicus had supplanted.

I am not putting this fact forward with the invidious object of belittling Bacon or of demolishing one of the Protestant idols. I am merely trying to give fair play to Bacon's Italian contemporaries, by showing that their blind reverence for a traditional inheritance of supposed learning was not anything distinctively Catholic. In wider confirmation of the same equalizing argument, I may add that as Bacon, "the Father of Modern Science," sided with the intransigency of the mediævals against Copernicanism, so also did Descartes, "the Father of Modern Philosophy" (falsely so-called), whose theory of vortices did so much to keep back the development of modern science. Nor was this "opposition to the greatest of all scientific discoveries" confined to these two branches. For, as we read in Hallam: "In the middle of the seventeenth century and long afterwards there were still mathematicians of no small reputation who struggled staunchly for the immovability of the earth."

PROTESTANT THEOLOGIANS

Let this suffice towards providing a proper historical perspective in the department of science. Turning to theology, it has next to be shown that the condemnation of Copernicanism was not peculiar to Catholic divines, but was shared just as actively by Protestant divines. It is a well-known fact that

at the very time when the Popes were patronizing the writings of Copernicus, Luther was calling him "a fool" because he had turned astronomy upside down; and Melanchthon and practically all Protestant preachers and professors were strongly condemning the system as contrary to the teaching of the Bible.

A most striking instance comes before us in the case of Kepler, who (born 1571, died 1630) was a contemporary of Galileo, and occupied a place in science in Germany similar to that of Galileo in Italy. The two biographies are strikingly similar. Galileo was of a well-reputed civic family; so was Kepler. Galileo was handicapped by "an ill-starred union"; so was Kepler. Galileo was engaged in a constant struggle with ill-health; so was Kepler. Galileo suffered from family misfortune and constant poverty; so did Kepler. Galileo nibbled at a clerical vocation; so did Kepler. Both worked themselves up to a university career. Both were captivated by the theory of Copernicus. Both dabbled with astrological almanacs. Both made many discoveries, some true, some fallacious. Both gained a world-wide reputation thereby. Both were honoured with the post of mathematicians to reigning houses, and both suffered from insufficient pay for their eminent services. Both were involved in vexatious disputes with obstinately conservative opponents. In both cases the opposing party prevailed. Finally, both Galileo and Kepler were hauled before a theological tribunal and condemned for heresy.

I allude here to the condemnation of Kepler by the Theological Faculty of Tübingen (Protestant) in 1596, for affirming the identical scientific truth for which thirty-seven years later Galileo got into trouble. When he wrote his celebrated work *Prodromus Dissertationum Cosmographicarum* to demonstrate the truth of the Copernican system, he had to lay it before the Academical Senate of Tübingen for their approbation, without which it could not be printed. The unanimous decision of the divines in this senate was that Kepler's book contained a deadly heresy, because it contradicted the teaching of the Bible in that passage where Joshua commands the sun to stand still, a verdict precisely similar to that of the Roman Congregations. To this Kepler replied that, as the Bible addressed itself to mankind in general, it spoke of things in the life of men as men in general are accustomed to speak of them; that the Bible was in no respect a manual of optics or astronomy, but had far higher objects in view; that it was a blameable abuse to seek in it for answers to worldly things; that Joshua had wished to have the day prolonged and God had responded to his wish; how this happened was not a subject for inquiry—precisely the answer given by Galileo. In spite of this argument his judges repeated their condemnation; and the vexations which followed caused him to write in despair to his friend Mästlin that he held it best to imitate the disciples of Pythagoras and keep silence on the

discoveries he had made, lest like Apian he should lose his situation and be doomed to die of hunger. The upshot was that he took refuge with the Jesuits of Gratz and Ingoldstat—of all people in the world,—who received the great Protestant discoverer with open arms because of the services he had rendered to science. Kepler ended in being appointed Court Astronomer to the Emperor Rudolph at Prague.[1]

[1] Kepler was not subjected to torture; neither was Galileo. But, as illustrating the usage of the times even in Protestant countries, we read incidentally that Kepler's mother, being suspected of sorcery, was imprisoned for thirteen months and underwent examination under "imminent threat of torture," which, however, was not carried out.

IX. THE CATHOLIC ATTITUDE

HAVING thus established a parallelism between the Protestant and Catholic situations, and disposed of the idea that the scientific or theological attitude in Italy was peculiar to or in any way bound up with Catholicism, we have next to pass from the similarities to the differences. This carries us down to the roots of the Reformation programme, which consisted essentially in the rejection of the Church as an authoritative teaching and governing body, and the setting-up of the Scripture interpreted by private judgement as the sole rule of faith in its place. Whatever the outsider may think of the merits of the two positions, this gives a certain logical consistency to the severity of the Roman Congregations, and an equally illogical inconsistency to that of the Protestant divines. They might indeed register their own personal view that the Copernican system was contrary to Scripture; but they could not consistently object to Kepler holding that it was not contrary to Scripture, or interfere with the liberty of his teaching on that score. Let it be clear that we are not now concerned with the question which

of these two theological principles is right and which wrong. The Catholic view is that the Church had a perfect theoretical right to pass judgement on Galileo, even though the judgement passed turned out wrong: for in doing this the Church was exercising its rightful jurisdiction in faith, morals, and discipline, and the error of its verdict was one of faulty human application, and not one of root-principle. On the other hand, the Protestant divines of Tübingen were wrong on both counts: first, in the falsity of their concrete sentence, and secondly, in denying to others the same exercise of private judgement which it was their greatest glory to claim for themselves. What we are concerned with here is merely to make it intelligible how the Roman Congregations could act as they did consistently with a sound principle, and yet could err in the application of that principle; and how this misapplication still leaves the underlying principle intact.

DOGMATIC ACTS

We hold that the Church is at once divine in its institution and human in its working, that its teaching and ruling officials are not endowed with any inherent gift of inerrancy either in the way of omniscient perspicuity of mind or of personal revelation or inspiration. This would imply that the Church authorities have to work according to their natural lights, and may be sometimes right and sometimes wrong according to the bent of their mind

and the influence of their circumstances. But this concession is conditioned by the proviso of a controlling Providence which, while leaving the general working of the Church to proceed according to the vicissitudes of human nature, still preserves the right course in essentials so as to leave the Church a reliable teacher and ruler of mankind. The result of this divine supervision is that, whenever we find any point of faith and morals unquestionably held and taught and believed in the Church as part of the divine deposit of truth, we can be absolutely certain that such a point is correct.

The Church has, moreover, in case of dispute, a power of coming to a final determination in faith and morals and of making this determination binding in conscience. This power can, however, be exercised only in one of two ways: either by the definition of a General Council under the headship of the Pope, or else by a similar definition issued by the head alone, which of itself has the same binding force as if it had proceeded from the deliberations of a General Council. This sort of definition is called *ex cathedra*; meaning that it is solemnly promulgated by the Pope acting as head of the Church, and intended to bind the whole Church to acceptance in such a way as to become a condition of membership, and, moreover, to be irrevocable and irreformable. When the Pope does commit himself and the Church to a definition in this way, we are infallibly certain that he is right; on the ground that the promises of

Christ will never allow Him to commit the universal Church irrevocably to error. This, in a nutshell, is what we mean, and *all* that we mean, by Papal infallibility.

DISCIPLINARY ACTS

But the exercise of this prerogative as a final resort is comparatively rare, and never entered into the Galileo case at all. Normally, the work of the Church in current contingencies is done in a way which is declarative and disciplinary. The Pope by his encyclicals, and the Roman Congregations by their decrees, issue decisions on current questions which do not pretend of their own force to be absolute and irrevocable. In many cases they presuppose and embody doctrines which are unquestionably true, and already known and believed, but which have only to be redeclared, emphasized, and enforced. In other cases they follow the prevailing view of theologians, and uphold it as at least something practically safe, without precluding the possibility that in course of time the prevailing theological view may undergo a change. Such decisions therefore are not irrevocable; they may even be objectively incorrect. But, even so, they impose the duty of submission for the time being as part of the discipline of the Church. Cases could occur—and the Galileo incident is perhaps the most pronounced instance in history — in which the specialist in science or scholarship is nearer the truth

than the authorities who pass sentence on his teaching. In this case the inalienable right of the mind to adhere to its perceptions of the truth is not outraged. The mind of the specialist may remain convinced of the truth, and his views may be ascertained to be objectively right; and yet he is called upon to exercise the virtue of submission, and to accept the verdict of his judges—to this extent at least, that he abstains from outwardly opposing them by a propagation of his views. In other words, he must recognize and yield to authority as a guide of his conduct, even though convinced that the application of that authority is in this instance misplaced. This demand, though greatly counter to the modern spirit, is by no means peculiar to the Church. In the army and navy and government service a similar implicitness of obedience is demanded, even where the subordinate is fully convinced that his superiors are wrong; and any display of resistance to or discontent with the orders given is looked upon as insubordination, and is punished accordingly. The only difference is that in these departments nothing is demanded but an exterior conformity, leaving the man to swear up his sleeve as much as he likes. The Catholic Church demands something more than this, namely, a spirit of interior loyalty to authority on the grounds of obedience, even though the interior conviction remains unchanged — just as a child who fails to see the justice of its father's

commands, still throws himself into their execution with good will, out of a spirit of filial devotion and respect.

The subject is one which it may be desirable to discuss somewhat more in detail.

THE SPIRIT OF OBEDIENCE

It may be said in a blunt, homely way that Rome is particularly "down" upon a man who shows contempt or disregard for Church discipline, or whose teaching or attitude is calculated in any way to minimize the respect and reverence in which Church authority is held. This severe attitude does not spring from any overweening pretension to power, or any exaggerated idea of their own prerogatives. Their position in this matter is quite according to the standard theology, which restricts infallibility to *ex cathedra* utterances by the Pope himself, and allows that all other officials in the whole range of their official work are fallible men capable of mistakes. But even as fallible men are capable of mistakes, it is a matter of principle that their enactments shall have binding force, and shall command respectful submission—not on the ground of the intrinsic soundness and irrefragable accuracy of their decisions, but for sake of the virtue of obedience itself.

The idea of obedience has become so weakened in the modern mind that it is necessary to explain

the matter in order to make this position intelligible. According to our ascetical theology, obedience is not merely a submission perforce to one who has the *power* to impose his will on us; nor is it merely conformity of action based on the fact that the orders given recommend themselves to the judgement as sound and desirable to follow. No, obedience is a submission of the whole man to the will of one placed in legitimate authority to rule and govern us—so that we do not look to the person who commands, nor to his prudence or other qualities, as the ground of our subservience; but rather to his position of authority as derived from God, in virtue of which his will becomes to us an expression of God's will, and a determinant of our action, quite apart from the question whether the command itself is commendable on its own merits. Our conception of obedience in Church matters is in fact precisely on the lines of that obedience which children owe their parents, which consist in looking upon them personally with reverence, and upon all orders given by them as something to be loyally and devotedly received and followed, without entering into any debate as to the merits of the order or its intrinsic prudence or advisability. This obedience has all the implicitness of that due by a soldier to his officer, as regards actual execution; but it demands quite a higher spirit of loyalty and reverence, not only exterior but interior, which is not contemplated in the military virtue. The spirit of obedience is

certainly not servile in a child; and He who said, "Unless you become as little children you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," included not merely the innocence of the child, but also its humility and implicit subjection to authority, as part of the qualification required. However, without arguing out the Gospel foundation of the idea, it is enough to state the fact, otherwise unintelligible to the mind of the outsider, that this spirit of obedience to Church authority is one of the essential features of the Catholic life, and one of the safeguards of the *obsequium fidei* itself. It is a virtue which must be cherished even when the application of authority is incidentally misplaced—the matter of the orders given being of comparative little moment when compared with the virtue of obedience which is exercised by submission to such orders.

Hence, while candidly viewing it as lamentable, in the light of subsequent knowledge, that the Roman Congregations should in 1616 have imposed upon Galileo any injunction not to teach or defend the Copernican system of astronomy, especially on the erroneous ground that it was heretical and counter to the teaching of the Bible; and secondly, while feeling the utmost sympathy with Galileo on account of the vexatious restriction thus placed upon him, and the very severe test to which his virtue was thereby put; still, in the light of the principle of obedience to authority as just explained—which

certainly permeated the whole Catholic mind of those times—we can at least view the situation as intelligible, and can take quite a different view of the severities of 1633 from that which the surface aspect would suggest.

This, we are aware, is something quite alien to the standpoint of the "modern" man, who is devoid of all notion of submission to Church authority and recognizes no other standard of thought and action than that of untrammelled individual liberty, and with whom the whole idea of the sanctifying power of obedience has been totally lost. Such people have so lost the spirit of faith as to fail to understand it. They look upon religious membership of a Church as a mere outcome of agreement of opinion; they scorn anything like the *obsequium fidei* as a mere implicit assent to certain formal propositions of a creed; whereas according to the Catholic idea Church membership is something more: a moral discipline as well as a mental one; a submission not only to the immutable dogmas of divine revelation, but also to the mutable and contingent pressure of Church government. This relation, we believe, disciplines at once the intellect and the will, and makes a man master of himself precisely by submitting to the mastery of others whenever that mastery is exercised by the legitimately constituted authorities of the Church.

We are not here concerned with preaching this principle, still less with asking outsiders to accept or

endorse it. All we say is that if they wish to view the Galileo case in an intelligible light, they must be at least aware of the existence of this principle among Catholics, and must understand what it is and how it works.

X. THE SAFER COURSE

BUT besides the doctrinal and the disciplinary, we have still to deal with a third aspect of the Church's practical policy.

Confronted with current questions which in any way affect the minds of the faithful, the Church feels bound sometimes to press her influence beyond the intrinsic merits of the question, whether of doctrine or of discipline, and to adopt what is known as "the safer course." The Church in itself is essentially conservative in tendency, and is therefore much keener in preserving what is old than in promoting what is new. The reason is twofold. In the first place, the Church's official scope is not the development of human knowledge but the preservation of divine knowledge. She is the recipient of an original deposit of revelation, which it is her business to preserve and hand down intact to succeeding generations. Strictly speaking she has no concern in human science as such. If a given opinion put forward in science steers clear of this deposit, she is content to leave it alone. But if such an opinion clashes with her deposit, she draws at once the

a priori conclusion that such an opinion is wrong, and will pronounce her condemnation of it and forbid its acceptance accordingly. This kind of proceeding is perfectly easy if the conflict between new opinion and old revelation is ascertained beyond all possibility of doubt. But a double obscurity is often possible. On the one hand, the new opinion may be objectively true, but is not so far demonstrated, and therefore can reasonably be disbelieved. On the other hand, a prevailing view among theologians, though taken for granted as a traditional inheritance, may not after all be a matter of divine revelation, and so is capable of being abandoned.

The proper policy in such a case would be to suspend judgement till the matter had been thoroughly thrashed out—allowing the new view to undergo the test of time, and to demonstrate itself if possible, and allowing the theological view to adjust itself gradually to the advance of the facts. But such a policy of suspension, though the wise and prudent course in itself, might have certain disadvantages. Besides the question of objective truth in matters on science, the Church has to take into account the effects which the propagation of a novel theory might have on the faithful in general, whose simple mind is easily liable to be upset by too sudden a change of view. Hence the need of discouraging the new view, at least for the time, in order to avert these objectionable results.

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

This idea will be best explained by some concrete examples :—

Down to a generation or two ago it was the general belief of Christians that the deluge of Noah covered the whole earth, and that it is so described in the most explicit terms in the Bible. Certain new considerations, mainly drawn from geology, led specialists to the contrary conclusion that the deluge was by no means universal, but was a comparatively local phenomenon ; widespread enough to cover the area occupied by mankind at that time, but not much more. This view at first found considerable opposition in theological circles ; partly because the restriction of the area of the flood was not as yet demonstrated beyond question, and partly because it ran counter to the literal text of the Scripture as universally understood by its interpreters. Fortunately, the view did not attain such sudden publicity as to cause a widespread sensation, and so no crisis arose. The partial-deluge view gradually came to look more and more feasible, and the possibility of interpreting Scripture accordingly became more and more evident. The new view gradually filtered down from learned circles to the man in the street, so that nowadays the partiality of the deluge is a matter of commonplace knowledge among all educated Christians, and is even taught to the rising generation in elementary schools.

But suppose this denial of the universality of the deluge had been suddenly sprung upon the world in general, and bruited about in the streets and squares of every city. It would come as a shock, not only to theologians of the conservative school, but also and above all to the faithful laity, who would look upon it as a sudden tactic of unbelief, and the upsetting of their simple faith in the word of God. Suppose, moreover, that those who embraced and propagated the new view were most of them men prone to be enamoured of "progress" and impatient of authority, while its opponents were men of unquestionable orthodoxy and edifying Catholic spirit. Before long a crisis would certainly arise. The cry would go forth that infidelity was spreading and the faith in danger. In such an emergency the Church authorities would feel the necessity of a remedy; and this remedy might easily take the form of condemning the new doctrine—not precisely because it was ascertained to be false or contrary to divine truth, but because its psychological effects on the minds of the faithful were practically destructive of their faith. In other words, the doctrine would have to be discountenanced for the time, not as false but as rash or unsafe, and its propagation as premature.

Other instances might easily be multiplied. For instance, the discovery two generations ago by geologists of the extreme antiquity of man on the earth was popularly regarded as an entire refutation of the Bible record, simply because people believed

that the date of Adam was fixed by the Bible; and I remember a young man who actually became an infidel through reading a book of this kind.

Similarly in Italy, in the time of Galileo, it is quite likely that a number of people, accustomed to understand the miracle of Joshua in its literal terms, felt that the truth of the Bible was gone when it became clear that Joshua could not have caused the sun to stand still, because it was standing still already. In such a contingency a strong and assertive policy is required. The common people cannot in such matters understand compromise or critical caution: nothing but a vehement reassurance will suffice to allay their doubts. And thus on grounds of expediency the exaggerations of a categorical condemnation would meet with favour even among those who were not themselves disposed to be dogmatic on the point.

THESE THREE POINTS APPLIED

A careful examination of the whole of the Galileo case will show that all these three motives were at work, and that the official action taken was the result of their combination. Briefly enumerated, the three are:—

(1) The exigencies of *doctrine*, or of safeguarding the deposit of faith.

(2) The exigencies of *discipline*, or of safeguarding obedience to authority.

(3) The exigencies of *the faithful*, suggesting the adoption of the safer course.

(1) With regard to the defence of the faith, it seems clear that among the more enlightened minds Galileo's discoveries and the theory which accompanied them seem to have been decidedly acceptable, at least in a tentative way, and no difficulty was felt in reconciling them with Scripture. But so long as the new theory was undemonstrated, the policy was to uphold the traditional belief as being in possession. Among other indications of this we have the view of Bellarmine, who admitted that "so long as the Copernican doctrine is stated hypothetically there is no objection whatever to it; but to state it positively is opposed to the principle laid down by the Council of Trent, that Scripture should not be interpreted contrary to the common consent of the fathers and the universal opinion of modern commentators." Thereupon he immediately adds: "When there shall be a real demonstration that the sun stands in the centre of the universe and that the earth revolves round it, it will be necessary to proceed with great caution in explaining those passages of Scripture which seem contrary to it; and rather to say that we do not understand them, than to say that a thing which is demonstrated is false" (Wegg-Prosser, p. 38). The same view was expressed by the Jesuit theologian Fabri some years later: "There is no reason why the Church should not understand those texts in their literal sense so long as there is no demonstration to

prove the contrary. But if any such demonstration is devised by your party, the Church will not hesitate to set forth that those texts are to be understood in a non-literal and figurative sense" (*ib.*, p. 40).

This is a complete contemporary statement of the moderate policy mentioned above, namely, a suspension of judgement till the demonstration becomes clear—the traditional view remaining in possession till disproved. But besides this more moderate attitude there existed a strong and active body of theologians who were tenaciously opposed to the new view and in favour of the old one. Such were the Qualifiers of the process of 1616, who categorically described the new doctrine as "false and absurd philosophically, and formally heretical as expressly contradicting Scripture," a verdict which inspired the decree of the Index condemning the same as "false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture." This over-strong statement is, however, balanced by the inconsistent permission of certain of the condemned books when corrected. For when we examine the kind of correction demanded (and actually made four years after), this did not expurgate the new doctrines, but merely softened the statement of them from an absolute assertion into an hypothetical supposition. Now, it is clear that if a theory is ascertained to be "false, heretical, and contrary to Scripture," no Church authority ought to tolerate its discussion even as a hypothesis. Hence we can only view the decree of 1616 as a "compromise"

between the extreme view and the moderate view; but a clumsy and inconsistent one, seeing that it embodies both views side by side and fails to reconcile them.

(2) As far as concerns the demands of discipline, it is clear that the second process, that of 1633, proceeded chiefly on the lines of condemning Galileo for contravening the prohibition of 1616; it is therefore in essence a vindication of the dignity and authority of the Holy Office. Its object was to treat him as a delinquent in ecclesiastical discipline, and to penalize him for disobedience. Suppose in the army an officer whose orders had been disobeyed found out in the meantime that his orders had been wrong. This would not alter the principle that "orders must be obeyed" even if thought to be wrong; nor would it prevent the subordinate from being hauled up for insubordination and punished in due course. If the questioning of orders were once admitted, there would be an end to all discipline in the army; and so, if only for form's sake and for sake of the principle, some penalty must be imposed —even though it be made a light penalty, and even though the orders themselves are subsequently withdrawn as unsound. Now, it is quite possible that there existed many in Rome who favoured Galileo's scientific enterprise and even leaned to his conclusions, and who would yet deem it expedient to penalize him for his want of obedience, simply on grounds of principle and in support of authority; and these

would give their adhesion to the substance of the sentence. On the other hand, there were certain others immovably convinced of the error of Galileo's teaching; and these would regard the action of the Holy Office not merely as a defence of discipline but also of the faith. Hence, to the substance of the condemnation on grounds of disobedience were added those definitive statements which were merely a repetition of the decree of 1616, and which describe the doctrines themselves once more as "false and contrary to the true sense and authority of Scripture"; adding that Galileo was "grievously suspected of heresy." Unfortunately, here the exigencies of discipline are exceeded and the doctrinal condemnation is made categorical and absolute.

That Galileo's conduct as a "son of the Church" was not what it ought to have been is cordially acknowledged by Whewell (*Inductive Sciences*, p. 535), who tells us that "Leibnitz, Guizot, Spittler, Eichorn, Raumer, Ranke, and almost all persons who have studied the facts, have at last done justice to the Church; that Galileo trifled with authority to which he professed to submit, and was punished for obstinate contumacy, not for heresy. This celebrated event must be looked upon rather as a question of decorum than a struggle in which the interests of truth and free inquiry were deeply concerned."

(3) Finally, there are quite sufficient indications that the Roman Congregations were keenly interested

in the practical question as to how the novel views of Galileo would affect the simple belief of the ordinary reading public. Thus, in the course of its sentence of 1633, the Holy Tribunal expresses itself as "desirous to provide against the disorder and mischief which has proceeded from the new teaching to the detriment of the holy faith." If we link these words with the remark of Urban VIII. that "the reading of the *Dialogues* was most pernicious to Christianity," we recognise the policy of the safer course which, partly at least, lay at the back of the Galilean condemnation. The reading of the *Dialogues* could not have done much harm to the theologians who opposed them as heresy; but they might have done a great deal of harm by discrediting the authority of Scripture in the minds of ordinary readers. They might also have done much to encourage a certain "liberalism" and independence of mind which was at this time spreading in Italy, and was rapidly tending to total unbelief. It is one of the anomalies of human affairs that truth can be and often is the cause of error, just because it is grasped as a half-truth and not understood in its full bearings; and this is exactly what was likely to occur among the ordinary people brought face to face with Galileo's novel theories without the necessary education to understand their proper bearing.

XI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Now it seems to me that, taking the official action of the Roman Congregations roughly and in the lump, and viewing the whole situation in its double context both as regards the theological and natural science and as regards the recognized principles of Church administration, sufficient has been said to enable us to view the whole affair in a far more intelligible light, and with far greater sympathy, than at first sight might be expected. But we must hasten at once with all frankness to confess that this apologetic does not amount to an entire vindication. The circumstances we have been considering may extenuate and may explain much that was done, but they do not amount to a full and complete justification of everything that was done. When all has been said on the favourable side, there still remains written across the pages of history the fact that each of the Roman Congregations, on both occasions of their official executive, committed a grievous blunder; and we are bound to go further and concede that there was sufficient light abroad at the time to have prevented that blunder. But the important thing is to make quite clear in what this blunder consisted :—

(1) It did not consist in the exercise of doctrinal caution with a view of safeguarding the deposit of faith, or of taking up the defence of the conservative attitude of defending the traditional view of Scripture against novel interpretations not yet ascertained to be unquestionably true. The deposit of faith is something far too precious to be jeopardized by an easy acceptance of new and untried doctrines, whether in science or otherwise. Time at least must be given in order to examine the validity both of the old conception and of the new one; and in the meantime it was only reasonable that the propagation of the new ideas should not be encouraged, but should even for the time be discouraged or suppressed, at least as far as their general circulation in book form is concerned. The adhesion to the old view and the rejection of the new view we now recognize as a mistake; but it was an intelligible and excusable mistake, and does not amount to an egregious or monstrous blunder.

(2) It did not consist in the disciplinary act of putting certain books on the Index; for this could be justified on the ground that their teaching was rash or premature. The very commotion which arose was quite sufficient to justify this proceeding according to the lights of the time. The act may be condemned as a mistake, but it was not an egregious or monstrous mistake but quite an ordinary and natural one.

(3) It did not consist in penalizing Galileo for

his disobedience; for this was well within the range of legitimate authority according to the standards of the Church. Here again the act may be condemned as a mistake. It is not clear that Galileo was gravely guilty of disobedience. He may possibly have obtained his *Imprimatur* in good faith, and ought not to have been punished for acting on it. It is true that he was insincere in his pretence to put forth the new doctrine hypothetically, and he might be fairly caught on this score as having written *in fraudem legis.* On the other hand, *de internis non curat prætor*—objective acts and not internal motives form the subject-matter for forensic action. Still, if the *Dialogues* seemed to be rash and calculated to do harm to the faithful by their premature circulation, it was within the competency of the court to put them on the Index, and even to penalize Galileo for his want of straightforwardness. Therefore, the mistake made was in the circumstances of the time intelligible, and did not amount to an egregious blunder.

(4) The really grave blunder consisted precisely in the categorical and dogmatic way in which the new doctrines were condemned as "false, contrary to Scripture, and heretical." We know now that this verdict is absolutely wrong; and the history of the times shows us that with due circumspection and moderation it could have been avoided. The blunder was, moreover, partly the outcome of human prejudice, and perhaps of human passion, in men who

ought to this extent to have been free from both defects ; and this is why we must frankly acknowledge it to be a grave one.

SOME CAUTIONS

With the foregoing fairly exhaustive study of the facts and principles before us, we can bring this series to a close by drawing up a certain number of cautions to different classes of persons, in order that they may avoid the pitfalls of the subject.

First, to all and sundry :—

In order to understand and judge soundly of the whole matter, it is necessary to dissever yourself from the strictly modern standpoint, and to project your mind back to the actual times of Galileo and his judges, so as to see with their eyes and think with their minds. This will not blind you to the error which was actually committed ; but it will enable you to judge that error more fairly and to view it sympathetically, and will make the whole situation intelligible.

Secondly, to Protestants :—

(1) Get rid at once of the idea that the Galileo tragedy was due to the fact that his judges were Catholics, as if there were something in the Catholic creed which caused them to act as they did. We have seen that the views of the Roman authorities, both in science and in theology, were also shared by Protestants, and that the Tübingen divines acted

towards Kepler just as the Roman divines acted towards Galileo. The preconceptions in each case were common to all Christians at the time, both Catholic and Protestant.

(2) Give up all idea of using the Galileo case as an argument against Papal infallibility. The range of Papal infallibility is quite clearly defined, and does not come within touch of the case at all. Even though the whole proceedings were directed by the Pope, the deliberations, some of them at least, presided over by him, and the official results confirmed and approved by him—this does not in any way bring the matter within the range of an *ex cathedra* definition, which alone is the matter of infallibility. This is not only a commonplace among Catholics, but is fully acknowledged by Protestant writers. Thus the Protestant astronomer Proctor (*Knowledge*, vol. ix. p. 274) writes: "The Catholic doctrine on the subject [of Papal infallibility] is perfectly definite; and it is absolutely certain that the decision in regard to Galileo's teaching, shown now to have been unsound, does not in the slightest degree affect the doctrine of infallibility, either of the Pope or of the Church. The decision was neither *ex cathedra* nor addressed to the whole Church; in not one single point does the case illustrate this doctrine of Papal infallibility as defined by the Vatican Council."

Another Protestant, Karl von Gebler, in his work *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, writes to the

same effect: "We grant that the two Congregations of the Index and the Inquisition, with the two Popes who sanctioned and promulgated their decrees, were in error; but not one ever held that the decisions of the Roman Congregations were in themselves infallible, even when approved by the Pope, unless specially set forth by the Pope with all the conditions required for an *ex cathedra* definition."

Thirdly, to Catholic Apologists:—

(1) Avoid the mistake of minimizing the official action of the Church authorities, or of understating the ground of their condemnation. The official documents plainly embody the view that the Copernican theory was not only "false" but also "heretical" because "altogether contrary to Scripture"; and Galileo was condemned as "grievously suspected of heresy," which heresy is defined as "holding that the earth moved and the sun stood still." It is precisely in this dogmatical pronouncement on the heretical character of the new astronomy that their blunder consisted.

(2) Do not try to cloak this blunder by arguing that Galileo brought all the trouble on himself by meddling in theology, or by his aggressiveness of manner. The clash with theology was inevitable, and must be forced upon him; and his defence on this point was entirely sound and unexceptionable. His aggressiveness explains the amount of human passion which was aroused against him, but does not

extenuate the act of condemning officially as heresy a doctrine which we all now know to be totally free from heresy. That Galileo was imprudent in forcing an official pronouncement does not diminish the error which the official pronouncement contains.

(3) Avoid also laying too much stress on the fact that Galileo was contumacious to Church authority. His contumacy might justify a disciplinary punishment; but once more, it does not cloak the blunder of charging his doctrines with heresy.

(4) There is no reason for trying to exonerate the Popes from all share in the action of the Congregations. Although their names do not appear in any official capacity, there is no doubt that they were fully conversant with what was being done; that they partly directed the proceedings; that they approved and sanctioned the decrees issued and the sentences pronounced. Our defence on this point lies simply in the fact that the Pope's approval of the acts of a Congregation does not raise them to *ex cathedra* definitions.

Fourthly, to Liberal Catholics:—

There is no ground in the Galileo case for insinuating a general distrust of the decision of Roman Congregations in modern times. In the first place, it is not a bad record for the Congregations that they should have been working now three centuries, and yet their worst enemies can discover only one really big, obvious, and undebatable blunder in their whole

history. Secondly, the official action of the Congregations in modern times is characterized by an extreme caution which will certainly obviate such a blunder occurring again. Thus the decisions of the Biblical Commission certainly display a circumspection which deserves respect even from those who hold altogether contrary opinions. Moreover, the Holy Office and the Index have had several opportunities in recent times of repeating the Galileo incident by the over-hasty condemnation of novel scientific views bearing on theology or Scripture—for example, the arguments from geology against the universality of the deluge, or in favour of the antiquity of man; the evolutionary theory of creation, or the dynamic theory of matter, or the origin of life, or the nature of spiritism, etc. etc.,—and have escaped the snare. Such difficulties as arise in the minds of discontented "progressives" or Liberal Catholics in our own times seem most commonly to arise from want of careful study of the decisions themselves, and a consequent misunderstanding of the minimal character of their contents. The Galileo case is, in fact, unique in history because the circumstances under which it occurred were also unique.

XII. ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. LATER HISTORY OF THE DECREES

A NOTE on the subsequent history of the official decrees and of the theory which they condemned will be of interest.

In this connection it will perhaps be useful to point out the difference between the Congregation of the Inquisition or Holy Office and that of the Index. Both have for their scope to investigate "heretical pravity"—that is to say, heterodoxy of belief and teaching,—but in different ways. The Inquisition deals with persons, the Index with writings. Of the two proceedings which belong to the Galileo case, the first (that of 1616) concerned writings only, and was undertaken by the Congregation of the Index. They certainly examined Galileo's writings, and the verdict of the Qualifiers was against them, and the result was communicated privately to Galileo by the Holy Office. In the decree of the Index which follows, this fact was mentioned; but his works were not condemned by name, but only implicitly so far as they fell under the general tenor of the

decree. The second process (that of 1633), though provoked by Galileo's latest book, was undertaken by the Inquisition, because the question of his personal submission to the warning of 1616 was the head and front of the attack. To the personal sentence of the Inquisition of 22nd June 1633 a decree of the Index prohibiting his book was added on 23rd August 1634.

Bearing the difference between the two Congregations in mind, it will be clear that the sentence of 1633, being connected with a personal case, has its effect on that case only, and stands as a fact in history never to be rescinded. With the condemnation of 1616 and those that subsequently proceeded from the Congregation of the Index, which deals not with persons but with books, and doctrine contained in books, the case is different. Such prohibitions of books are capable of subsequent revision, and many of them have in point of fact been rescinded, as can be seen by comparing the latest edition of the "Index" with any of those which preceded it. Since the Congregation of the Index was founded, it has been customary from time to time to publish a collected list of the books condemned under the title of *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.* In 1664 a new edition of this list was brought out, accompanied by a bull of Pope Alexander VII. : *Speculatores Domus Israel.* The edition thus published under official sanction contained among the rest the decree of 1616 condemning the five

books therein mentioned ; also a monitum, dated 1620, permitting the reading of the works of Copernicus if published in a corrected edition ; also a decree, dated 1618, condemning Kepler's *Epitome Astronomiæ Copernicæ* ; another of 1634 prohibiting Galileo's *Dialogue* ; and finally, in 1640, a general prohibition of "all books, booklets, commentaries, epistles, glosses, sermons, tractates, etc., whether written or printed, which discoursed on the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun." Of course, the Papal bull which accompanied the new edition merely gave the book an official authenticity as an accurate catalogue of decrees, but did not add anything to their authority or vouch for their intrinsic correctness. Hence any attempt by reason of this bull to turn the decrees of the Index into *ex cathedra* or infallible definitions is useless, as it misses the meaning and purpose of the document.

In spite of its condemnation by the Roman Congregations, the Copernican doctrine gradually spread till it was finally clinched by Newton's *Principia* in 1696, and so secured general acceptance. The decrees of the Congregations were by no means regarded as having closed the question for Catholics ; and, generally, no scruple was felt on disciplinary grounds as regards professedly teaching the new theory in Catholic colleges. Thus, as early as 1634, leave was given to introduce instruments for the teaching of astronomy in Rome based entirely on the Copernican system. Cardinal Barberini,

nephew of Urban VIII., was presented with one of them. In 1639 and 1645 Bulialdus and Gassendi, both of them Catholic priests, undertook the defence of the Copernican system, and were neither reprimanded for it nor suspected of heretical teaching. In 1656 the *Imprimatur* was given in Rome itself for a defence of Copernicus against various physical and astronomical objections; and the same occurred again in 1667 and 1669. In 1661, P. Fabri, S.J., professor at the Roman College, publicly declared that the authorities would at once adopt the figurative explanation of the various passages in Holy Writ, if only a real proof for the Copernican system were forthcoming. P. Baldigiani, S.J., in 1678, thought that the time had come to revoke the decree forbidding the reading of the *Dialogues*; and in 1685, P. Kochansky went so far as to state that every Catholic was allowed to search for a proof of the truth of Copernicanism.

Meantime the decrees remained on the books, and presented a certain technical difficulty to the canonist. Hence, in 1757, Benedict XIV. expunged the universal prohibition of 1640. In 1744, Galileo's *Dialogo* was allowed to be included in a new edition of his collected works. In the year 1820, positive official permission was asked for and granted by Pius VII. to Canon Joseph Settle, a Roman professor, to publish a text-book on science, containing the Copernican doctrine. Finally, in 1822, the Inquisitor-General, under the sanction of Pope Leo XII., declared that the printing

and publication of works treating of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun, according to the opinion of modern astronomers, is permitted in Rome. In the next edition of the Index, dated 1835, the decree of 1616 and all others touching the question, as well as the names of all the prohibited books, were finally expunged from the list.

The delay which elapsed before this withdrawal was made is only part of the traditional conservatism of the Church. The documents were there on record, and on record they must remain until it has become clear beyond a shadow of doubt that they are of their own nature obsolete. The same slowness shows itself in other departments. For instance, down to 1869 the canon-law books were filled with a vast mass of excommunications, suspensions, and interdicts which had accumulated from the Middle Ages, most of which were, however, entirely out of practice. And yet they continued to encumber the books for centuries till Pius IX., by one stroke of the pen, abolished them in his *Apostolicæ Sedis*, which contains a list of those censures alone which are to be regarded as in force, and abrogates the rest. There is therefore nothing strange in the belated declaration of 1822, that "in future the new astronomy was to be permitted in Rome." Practically it had long been permitted, and this was merely the legal and formal removal of a decree already recognized as a dead letter.

II. GALILEO'S PROOFS

As to the question whether Galileo had really proved the truth of the Copernican system, Müller writes as follows :—

Had Galileo any really convincing proofs? Answer: No. Had he at least probable proofs, such as to give an idea what the real proof might be? Answer: No. Were Galileo's proofs such that even those who were not experts could clearly see their unsoundness? Answer: Yes.

This is the opinion of a scientific astronomer; and hence we need not be surprised if Huxley confesses that, in his opinion, the adversaries of Galileo had rather the best of the dispute.

This we can see in detail thus :—

The 1st Proof, from the phases of Venus and Mercury.—This proves that these two planets are moving round the sun as their centre, but nothing more. With some probability one can argue by analogy that the other planets may also move round the sun; but this proves absolutely nothing about the earth. The question whether the earth is a planet or not is just the point at issue.

The 2nd Proof, drawn from the sun-spots, is such that modern astronomers are inclined to think that Galileo was not serious about it; for it is either absolutely unintelligible or, if taken as it stands, palpably wrong. Moreover, the facts adduced for the 1st and 2nd arguments (geometrically) can be

equally well explained by the old or by the new theory.

The 3rd Proof, Galileo's argument from the tides, goes straight against the facts observed. Yet Galileo did not shrink from calling the reports of two daily tides at the Atlantic coast "fables" merely invented to weaken the force of his argument.

But Galileo's arguments were not only wrong: he had also no answer to many difficulties, some of which were solved only much later:—

1*st Objection.*—The planets move with varying speeds round the sun. This cannot be explained by circular movements, where the speed has to be uniform. Copernicus was honest enough to admit the fact and to solve the difficulty by partially returning to the old cycloids. Kepler did away with these difficulties by proving the orbits of the planets to be elliptical (*Astronomia nova*, 1609, a copy of which was presented by the author to Galileo). Galileo, however, treated these splendid researches as "child's play," and preferred to misrepresent the Copernican system so as to avoid the difficulty; and this misrepresentation was well known to the astronomers and scientists in Rome.

2*nd Objection.*—Galileo could not explain why no annual parallax could be observed. The difficulty remained till 1838, when Bessel, for the first time, succeeded in showing that there *was* a parallax. To make his explanation more acceptable, Galileo gave false figures for the diameter of the earth's orbit,

such as the astronomers of the time could easily see to be wrong.

3rd Objection.—If the earth rotates, why do the bodies not fall a little to the east? Galileo simply denied the fact; and yet this is now not only mathematically but also experimentally proved. Galileo himself had undertaken to carry out such experiments and had conspicuously failed. This was also known in Rome, and to the astronomers of the time.

No doubt many objections urged by certain adversaries were futile, and did not show much ingenuousness; but this was not the case with all that was said against Galileo. And so it came to pass that most of the astronomers of the time, though viewing the system favourably as a working hypothesis, were against it on physical grounds. So Tycho Brahe, whose splendid observations formed the basis for the immortal works of Kepler; so Clavius, S.J., the chief astronomer and mathematician in reforming the Calendar; so Scheiner, who as astronomer was far superior to Galileo; and many others.

Accordingly, even had the Qualifiers been scientific experts, with the meagre facts available at the time they could not consider that the Copernican system was proved, or even that it rested on safer grounds than the old one. Galileo had not one convincing proof, but many positive wrong statements and facts, which were all painfully clear to the scientists of the time. Hence many of them said: Whether the

earth moves or not, is a question undecided for the moment; but it certainly is not demonstrated to do so by the fallacious arguments of Galileo.

III. GALILEO'S CONTEMPORARIES

Galileo was not at all in advance of the time in astronomy. On the contrary, according to the testimony of many modern astronomers, he was by far outstripped by Scheiner, Marius, Kepler, Clavius, and others. Modern astronomy rests on Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, but not on Galileo. The discoveries made by Galileo were all such that they could easily be made by anyone else, and, as a matter of fact, we know now that all his discoveries were made independently by others either before or at least shortly after him. Thus Marius, as is undoubtedly proved, observed the moons of Jupiter on the 8th January 1610, Galileo on the 7th. But whereas Marius modestly tried to make sure, and to find out something about these wonderful moons, and so kept quiet, Galileo at once trumpeted them into the world; and so he became famous and Marius was left unnoticed. But Marius afterwards produced tables on these moons, and astronomical calculations, in comparison with which those of Galileo, published in 1616, are quite incorrect. The Roman Jesuits, especially Clavius, observed the ring-like appendages to Saturn far better than Galileo. Scheiner's work on the sun-spots in the *Rosa Ursina* leaves all that

Galileo has ever written on the same subject far behind, as is universally acknowledged by modern astronomers. That Kepler's Laws, with their immense importance, were called child's play and fantastic calculations, shows that Galileo was not deeply versed in pure mathematical astronomy ; and Fr. Müller goes so far as to call Galileo's theoretical explanations in astronomy clumsy, and belated even for his own time.

Galileo's friends were mostly religious of all orders, from the Benedictines down to the Jesuits. Castelli was a Benedictine ; Spinelli, a defender of Galileo on various occasions, a Benedictine. Among the Dominicans were Maraffi, who defended Galileo against Caccini ; Riccardi, the famous censor, who expressly stated to Galileo that he did not believe in the opposition between the Copernican system and Holy Writ ; Cavalieri, who defended the *Dialogues,* as far as the scientific question was concerned ; and others.

Among the Jesuits were Riccioli, who maintained that Galileo had not proved the earth's movements, but was otherwise a fervent admirer of Galileo ; Malcotius, praised by Galileo himself for his friendship ; Scheiner, who also in his letters after 1630 speaks in the highest terms of Galileo as a physicist ; Grassi the same ; de Cuppis ; Baldigiani, Professor of Mathematics, a fervent follower of Galileo ; Clavius, who wrote against some of Galileo's enemies ; Lorini, who expressly stated that Copernicanism was not directly against Holy Writ, but who had to keep

quiet after the first trial; Bellarmine, as is well known; Grienberger, who used to speak in very high terms of Galileo, as many letters of his pupils to Galileo show; Cavalieri, whom Galileo wished to see near him in his last days; Paullus in Vienna, who was in favour of Galileo's publications even after 1633. Among the other orders, Foscarini, the Carmelite, is well known; Guevara, Theatine, who expressly held that Copernicanism was not against Holy Writ; Micanzio, a Servite, who to the last defended Galileo in a most exaggerated way; the "Jesuate" Cavalieri; the Olivetan Renieri; Failla, the Carmelite; Veglia (?) (order not known). From the secular clergy: the Cardinals Borghese, Orsini, Zoller, Bonzi, Conti, Del Monte, Bandini, D'Este, Medici, etc.; the Barberini, both uncle and nephew; the Archbishop of Siena. Piccolomini went so far that he was thought to damage the reputation of Rome by his enthusiasm for Galileo. *Monsignors:* Gherardini; Campanella, who wrote an apology for Galileo in 1633; Boccabella and Serristori, who, according to Galileo's own words, were of great assistance to him during the trial in 1633; Gassendi, Professor of Mathematics in Paris; Dini; Ciampoli, who had to suffer on account of his services to Galileo; Cesarini, and others. To know exactly what all these ecclesiastics did for Galileo, read Müller in both his books.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that the first accusations connected with the Scripture difficulty

came not from priests, but from laymen: Colombo, a Florentine nobleman, and Sizzi, also from Florence. Of those who *ex professo* wrote against Galileo before 1616, three were lay-professors and only one was an ecclesiastic—Ingholi, in Rome. Nobody will deny that there were also many among the clergy who opposed Galileo, but certainly not in a malicious or irrational way. Thus, when the first accusation reached Rome from the Dominican Lorini, he expressly states that he did not want a formal inquisition, and much less a direct accusation; his object was only to call the attention of the authorities to the new theory and its defence on Scriptural grounds.

IV. KEPLER AND GALILEO

In the text I remarked on the similarities in the lives of Kepler and Galileo, but did not take notice of a strong difference between their characters and dispositions, which may be added here.

Kepler stood in excellent relations with Catholics, and was much respected by them, especially the Jesuits. In a letter of 1605 he wrote to a friend: "I admire the wisdom of the Catholic Church, which, while condemning the superstitious astrology, leaves the Copernican system for the free discussion of the learned." On hearing of the prohibition of the book of Copernicus in 1616 he wrote: "I am informed that some have managed by their imprudent conduct to bring about that the reading of the main work of

Copernicus, which had been absolutely free for fully eighty years, has now been forbidden—at least for the time, and until it has been corrected. At the same time well-known and reliable authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular, have assured me that thereby no hindrance is intended to astronomical researches." Later on, after the publication of the *Harmonia Mundi*, he wrote: "I ask in the name of science, that after due consideration of these new arguments Copernicus may be made free again." But he still cautioned the Italian booksellers to sell his book only to real astronomers, and not to the general public, as he did not want to increase the public animosity on the subject. This could be done all the more easily because he was "convinced that Catholic mathematicians would readily assent to his researches." When in 1618 his own book *Epitome Astronomicæ Copernicæ* was also prohibited, he took the matter quite calmly, and did not lose his respect for the Catholic Church.

Kepler tried without success to establish friendly relations with Galileo, communicating freely his discoveries even before they were made public, defending Galileo against his enemies, and offering his services. Galileo did not respond, and rarely answered his letters. In his writings he ignored Kepler's discoveries and even his famous "Laws"; he is, moreover, accused of giving out some of Kepler's discoveries as his own. Kepler was also a staunch supporter of the Gregorian reform of the Calendar,

the work of Pope Gregory XIII. But the University of Tübingen had taken the lead against "the work of that ravenous wolf, the Roman antichrist," and this was another cause of their ill-treatment of Kepler. Kepler's excommunication by the Lutheran divines in 1612, however—apologists need cautioning on this point—was not due to these comparatively minor offences, but to his theological activity, his disbelief of certain Lutheran tenets, and his objections to the "Formula of Concord" of 1580, which was intended to heal the divisions in the Lutheran camp.

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VI. POSTSCRIPT

While the foregoing articles were appearing in *The Examiner* [21st September 1912, *seq.*], they were being carefully read by a special student who has worked through the most recent German literature of the subject, and who furnished me with a running commentary on the whole. Besides this contribution received from a scientist in England two long letters adding useful information on several points and confirming the views of the first critic.

The trend of the criticism tendered can be summarized as follows;—Fahie's picture of Galileo's character and conduct is somewhat too favourable. Galileo was in truth a violent, bumptious, cocksure,

headstrong, and self-conceited man, and tricky to boot. He magnified the importance of his discoveries and the cogency of his proofs beyond due proportion, and poured scorn on all and sundry, no matter how eminent, who did not accept them implicitly, or who passed criticism on them. Moreover, several of his discoveries were really made before by others, and caught hold of and published as if they were his own; while other alleged discoveries proved not to be discoveries at all, but downright blunders. His vanity and self-conceit led him to thrust himself forward in a way calculated to breed disgust; and, being a big talker, by too free a use of his tongue he created the impression that "a sound dressing-down" would do him a world of good. His endeavours to secure the *Imprimatur* were astute and cunning, and his whole dealings with the Church authorities were slippery. Considering that they were personally unconvinced by his arguments, his *Dialogues*, which rained contempt on all that were not convinced Copernicans, were a direct slap in the face for them, and equivalent to telling them that they were all fools. It is true that among his opponents there were many of mediocre calibre who were actuated by an obscurantist conservatism, jealousy, and the bitterness of malice. But his real opponents in the higher circles counted among them men of far greater scientific attainments than his own, who saw through his superficiality and beyond it. Hence it is not correct

to dignify the severe treatment Galileo received from the authorities as a martyrdom, or to imagine that they were actuated by malice. On the whole, he brought the mischief on himself, and, considering the provocation given, was treated with remarkable moderation. The part played by the alleged poking fun at the Pope in the proceedings of 1633 has been exaggerated by Fahie and others. It is not denied that Urban VIII. felt the insult; but he did not allow it to enter as a factor into his policy, which was determined by higher and more objective motives, namely, the maintenance of Church discipline and the safeguarding of the common faithful. Finally, the same authors have exaggerated the "unrelenting though petty severity" with which he was treated during his retirement after the sentence of 1633.

This criticism shows us that the standard history of Galileo — in English at least — has yet to be written. Among non-Catholic writers the natural feeling is one of sympathy with Galileo and antipathy to the conduct of the Church tribunals; and it is possible, with this prepossession in mind, to make a serious and honest attempt to be fair and impartial, and yet to miss the correct balance. Much of the information about Galileo's discoveries comes from himself, and, owing to his enthusiastic character, may be exaggerated and misleading. But still it is quite possible that Galileo's opponents may have belittled him and given him less credit

than he deserves. Then again, much of our information about Galileo's enemies comes also from Galileo himself, who was certainly quite capable of making the most of their weak points, and is even accused of inventing injurious skits and absurd stories about them. But then some of his enemies may possibly have done the same to him, by presenting his conduct in the worst possible light. This being the case, the historian approaching the subject with a *penchant* for Galileo is quite likely to swallow as good evidence all that makes in favour of the one side, and to discount much that makes in favour of the other. And thus, by a subconscious selection, the resultant picture will be one-sided, even if not positively false.

On the other hand, it must in fairness be allowed that a Catholic writer may be permeated by a similar bias. His instinctive propensity will be to defend the action of the Church authorities from the attacks of Protestants, and to provide an antidote to the one-sided views of outsiders. And thus, without the least intention to manipulate history, he is likely to be struck with the evidences which tell against Galileo and in favour of his opponents; and the result may thus be just as one-sided as the other.

I do not intend by these remarks to insinuate anything against the German writers on whom our two contributors rely. I only mean to say that, not having examined their works for myself, I find it natural to maintain a certain suspension of judge-

ment. Nevertheless, in reprinting the articles, I have taken into consideration the criticisms offered during their serial publication and have either accepted the new evidence and changed certain detailed statements, or have expunged them as doubtful. A similar modification has been made in the treatment of the motives ; and these changes will of themselves make a corresponding change in the general impression. The modified text has been carefully read over by the first of our contributors, who has expressed himself satisfied that all is correct and up to date—at least within the range of debatable opinion.

It is, however, quite possible that the same or other special students of the subject may continue their interest in this attempt, and that by their aid the little book may be brought to a higher degree of perfection in the event of a future edition. Meantime, I feel satisfied that the work as it stands can be taken as reliable, at least as regards all substantial issues.

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Priests & People...

....in Ireland.

A CRITIQUE OF Mr. M'CARTHY'S BOOK.

By ERNEST R. HULL, S. J.

EDITOR OF

"THE EXAMINER."

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PRIESTS AND PEOPLE IN IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

During the year 1902, Messrs. Hodges Figgis & Co. of Dublin published a volume under the title of *Priests and People in Ireland*, by Michael J. T. M'Carthy—a work which some people have characterised as "the most violent attack on the Catholic Church which has appeared in recent years." There seems to have existed in some quarters a curious delusion as to the identity of the author—many people (in England especially) imagining that he was the highly-reputed historian Justin McCarthy, others that he was that illustrious writer's son. Mr. Michael J. T. M'Carthy, fortunately, is neither the one nor the other, but a gentleman whose sole claim to repute lies in the unenviable notoriety of having, on this and a former occasion, filled a bulky octave volume with as much virulence against the Church of which he *professes* to be a member, as a bulky octave volume could possibly contain.

In Ireland the work was of course widely read, but it received slight attention from the Press. The Catholic papers as a rule treated it with silent contempt; its manifest extravagance caused the Protestant journals to pursue to a great extent the same policy. English Protestant reviewers were cold in their praise; some, as in the *Glasgow Herald* (Aug. 28, 1902) sympathising with the standpoint of the author, but emphatically proclaiming that he had failed to prove his contention. The *Pilot*, a high class paper, whose premature decease we afterwards heard of with regret, uttered a scathing condemnation of the book in its issue of October

1st, 1902, closing its strictures with the following remarks:—

"Mr. M'Carthy's book would be less misleading if it contained no truth at all. We detest as strongly as he can much that is inseparable from Roman Catholicism; but his method of stating or mis-stating his case might make even an Orangeman cry out for fair play. In conclusion, we may say that it seems to us his plain duty to renounce a communion in which he has evidently no place, and to join the Protestants with whom he is in such full sympathy. By doing so he would sacrifice a good deal of notoriety, but would acquire a logical position."

Being in Ireland at the time when this book was published, I naturally read it with the rest, and took occasion to institute a comparison between the ideas it contained and whatever knowledge I happened to have derived from the study, first of Irish history, and then of the people themselves among whom I had just spent the greater part of a year. The outcome of this comparison was a critique on the book, written by invitation from the Editor of the *Glasgow Observer* in whose columns, as well as in those of the *Catholic Herald*, the *Monitor and New Era*, etc., it appeared in instalments during the months of October and November 1902. The subject did not crop up in India except on one occasion; and so the article was forgotten till a suggestion from Australia, and afterwards an inquiry from a military chaplain in the Deccan, led us to unearth it. The fact that the book is still in circulation, and still doing as much mischief as it is capable of, made us resolve to republish the essay in THE EXAMINER and to add it to the catalogue of our reprints. The critique is reproduced almost verbatim in its original form; but through the kindness of a correspondent in Australia an appendix of considerable utility has been added.

"Priests and People in Ireland."

A REVIEW OF MR. M'CARTHY'S RECENT BOOK, WITH SOME PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF IRELAND.

BY ERNEST R. HULL, S. J.

I.—The Book to be Reviewed.

Mr. M'Carthy's book on "Priests and People in Ireland" (Dublin, 1902) strikes me as a truly lamentable production, from whatever point its contents may be viewed. Lamentable as a psychological exhibition of its author's own mind and character; lamentable as a monument of perverted industry; lamentable as an attempt to strike a blow at the hopeful endeavour of Ireland to better itself, and at the growing willingness of England to promote that endeavour by improved laws and organisation; lamentable as an effort—sure to be successful on this head—to deepen Protestant prejudice, and to keep aloof two parties which it is the desire of all good men to bring into a closer and more friendly relation.

Fortunately, in Ireland Mr. M'Carthy seems generally to have been estimated at his proper value. His work was widely read by the general public, but not even the Protestant Press regarded it as worthy of much serious attention. We once hoped that some one as competent to deal with the subject discussed as Mr. M'Carthy proves himself incompetent to deal with it would, without giving that gentleman the notoriety involved in a serious refutation, write a great work dealing with the social, moral, and economic revival in Ireland since the date of Catholic Emancipation, collecting results and drawing lessons from what has been done for the further promotion of the movement. Serious readers would then see the whole of Mr. M'Carthy's position reversed, and the mischief his

volume would otherwise be calculated to do would be averted. Our present task is the much humbler one of writing for English and Irish readers for sake of information on a matter which has been much voiced abroad by Protestant controversialists, and on which Catholics ought to be furnished with an answer.

II.—The Reviewer and his Claims.

This paper was written in Dublin after a sojourn in Ireland of a little short of a year. My pretensions to speak on Irish affairs are not great, as regards length of residence or exhaustiveness of experience. But at least I can claim to have come into Ireland with an open mind, and to have utilised every opportunity of sampling the state of the country, clergy, and people. I hold entirely aloof from politics. I feel a keen interest in the people of Ireland ; brief as my stay has been, it was well spent. I mixed in intimate relations with clergy and people in eight counties distributed over North, South, East, and West, both in parochial and mission work, and in giving retreats to nuns and theological students. I lived in priests' houses, and made myself at home in the cottages of the peasantry, observing the personal character and conduct of the clergy and religious, their relations to those under them, and the attitude of the lay people towards their pastors and instructors. I exercised the assiduity of a newspaper reporter in conversations with Catholics and Protestants such as came in my way—peasants, farmers, mechanics, shopkeepers, not excluding some of the gentry, and on one occasion a land commissioner ; parish priests and curates, teaching and visiting Orders, theological professors, students from Maynooth and other colleges ; Gaelic League men, University men, industrial promoters, and the like. What I claim,

therefore, is having made expectionally good use of a series of favourable opportunities for judging for myself, and therefore the right to register my impressions. These impressions without exception tend to satisfy me of the utter untenability of Mr. M'Carthy's general thesis, whatever truth there may be in the isolated details of his allegations ; and with such detailed cases I am incapable of dealing, simply because I decline, for the sake of any cause whatsoever, to go beyond my evidence.

III.—Mr. M'Carthy and his Claims.

Let us now approach our subject by examining Mr. M'Carthy's position. He proclaims himself in the following short sentence:—

I am a Catholic ; I am an Irishman ; I have a right to speak (p. 15 and passim.)

The second of these statements can be dismissed. Mr. M'Carthy tells us he has lived all his life in Ireland (p. 343). That is enough. The two remaining questions are : "Is Mr. M'Carthy a Catholic?" and "Has he a right to speak?"

IV.—Is Mr. M'Carthy a Catholic?

To remove all mistake about this claim, Mr. M'Carthy frequently describes himself as a "Roman" Catholic. I suppose the conditions involved in the profession of Roman Catholicism are an acknowledgment of the teaching and governing authority of the Catholic Church and an adhesion to her doctrines. A practising Catholic must add a general obedience to the Commandments of God and to those of the Church, such as attendance at Sunday Mass and frequentation of the Sacraments. What has Mr. M'Carthy to say for himself on these heads ?

We learn that he spent three years of his education at Middleton Protestant School and four years at Trin-

ity (p. 665). This, however unpromising, would prove nothing. But he next tells us that "If now I happen to know anything, if I have travelled any distance, however short, on the road to truth, I owe it, in common with the entire civilised world, mainly to association with Protestants, and to the principles of Protestantism" (p. 565). He also tells us that England, Scotland, the United States, Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and other Protestant lands, have also listened to the Divine voice of truth, and have then been saved from the barren oppressor (p. 575). He maintains that the Papacy was founded, not by Christ, but by a decree of the Emperor Phocas (p. 592); that the doctrine of the Mass and the sacramental system has denied the efficacy of the one real sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, unless followed up by make-believe sacrifices, repeated at the price of six for a pound sterling (p. 590); that the same sacramental system kills off all practice of real virtue, sets a premium on vice, encourages superstition and a belief in evil spirits, reduces respect for the Omnipotent God almost to a vanishing point, extirpates self-respect and all the virtues which follow in its wake; that it is a Gospel preached by pagan priests centuries before the Papacy—a Gospel rejected by all civilisation and by the better half of humanity; that it explains why the social system of Roman Catholic Ireland, resting upon a foundation of such blasphemous fallacies, is a failure and a fraud (p. 592). After this we are not surprised to come across an implied disbelief in the presence of Christ on the altar (p. 220-1), the view that bequests for Masses are the most objectionable form of charity (p. 129), an attempt to buy off the Almighty (p. 117), and devised to unproductive uses (p. 119). Catholic observances are described as useless (p 20), as mummery and mystery, unintelligible gibberish about saints and ancestors in the spirit world, no more useful

than Gaelic folklore (p. 164). Nor are we astonished to hear Presbyterians praised because they leave the supernatural to Popes and Cardinals, and attend to their natural business (p. 80), because they do not maintain a superhuman, miracle-working priesthood to filch from them the true enjoyment of life (p. 88). Or Presbyterian Churches admired, because free from awe, mystery, supernaturalism, expensive pictures, statues and altars, and because no ragged people are found there (p. 70-1).

In view of these tenets, it is easy to understand the painful reiteration Mr. M'Carthy feels bound to make, insisting, page after page, that in spite of all this "I am a Catholic." Who hath believed our report? he might properly ask. I might as well exhibit myself as a subject of the Russian Czar by birth, education, civil obligation, sympathy, and principle, and then advertise myself as a Briton. It is of the utmost importance to realise this avowed position of Mr. M'Carthy, for it places his claims to being a Catholic in the light of a grotesque pretence. His views cannot in any way be quoted as those of a Catholic; they are the views of a man whose public avowals place him absolutely outside the Roman Catholic Church. His doctrinal position could be subscribed to by Cromwell, Somerset, or Luther. His favourite use of such words as "Nonconformist Catholic," "Protestant-Catholic" are enough to show that he is playing with words, without the sense to perceive that the maintenance of such a title is incompatible with his religious views.

Having seen the answer to the question, "Is Mr. M'Carthy a Catholic?" we turn to the second, viz.:—

V.—Has Mr. M'Carthy a Right to Speak?

A man's right to speak—and to be listened to with respect—turns entirely on the matter on which he is

engaged, and the knowledge or evidence he has at command. Let us then take a review of Mr. M'Carthy's thesis, and after seeing what he has to maintain, examine into his evidence, and his power of making sound use of that evidence, as actually exhibited in the volume before us.

VI.—Mr. M'Carthy's Thesis may be briefly stated as follows :—

(1) Roman Catholic Ireland is at present in an unsatisfactory condition ; its people unable to take advantage of their opportunities, or compete with, or claim equality with any of the white races of Northern Europe or America (p. 1). Elsewhere this state is described as a state of "degeneracy," or a movement from bad to worse.

(2) The problem is how to account by one universal cause for this universal effect (p. 2).

(3) The causes hitherto assigned are usually the unhappy condition of Irish politics, proneness to idleness and its consequent vices, indulgence in drink, iniquitous British legislation, and the like.

(4) These causes are rejected as secondary, the one universal cause being sacerdotal interference and domination from the cradle to the grave.

This is the main and only contention of the book. The facts alleged in proof are as follows :—

(1) The population is rapidly decreasing, and at the same time the numbers of the clerical organisation increasing in an inverse ratio.

(2) This clerical organisation has in its hands the public institutions of Ireland, primary and secondary schools, industrial schools, hospitals and orphanages ; and draws the public funds of the country under its own management.

(3) The clerical policy is to stultify, mystify, hypnotise the minds of the laity by religious mummery and mystery; to render them incapable of thinking for themselves; to kill out their industry and enterprise; to make them mere puppets in the hands of the priests, so that they cannot call their souls their own; and to draw all their money into sacerdotal coffers.

(4) As a result, ignorance, superstition, degradation, poverty, laziness, viciousness, and general degeneracy of social, civil, and industrial life.

(5) The tide of emigration is due to the desire of the young and more enterprising generation to flee from the incubus of priestly domination and escape to the liberty of England or America.

(6) The one road to regeneration is to throw over the authority of the priesthood and substitute lay energy in its place; to prevent the British Government from playing any longer into the hands of the clergy, who are at the root of the national ruin.

(7) The Protestant sections of Ireland are put forward as representing what could be done, if only the domination of the clergy and their sacerdotal religion were overthrown and the spirit of commerce substituted in its place.

VII.—Fundamental Fallacies.

Such is the outline of Mr. M'Carthy's argument. We must open our discussion of the question by a few leading remarks as to the attitude in which it is approached. Mr. M'Carthy has not learnt the lessons which the study of economic problems taught me years ago; that all such questions are highly complex, and can never be accurately summed up in any single general proposition. Any sweeping statement is almost sure to be wrong. Mr. M'Carthy regards the vast

problem before him as extremely simple, and one cannot wonder at his results. It is one of the most rudimentary fallacies, even in the simplest social problems, to attempt to assign any state of things to a single cause, or even a single principal cause. Another equally rudimentary fallacy is to imagine that any existing state of things can be discussed in itself, and without connection with its past antecedents.

VIII.—Is it a Period of Degeneracy or of Progress?

It will be worth while asking whether Mr. M'Carthy's fundamental assumption is not wrong at the outset. That Catholic Ireland is not at the present moment using all its latent opportunities, that it does not compete with or claim commercial or economic equality with other countries of Europe, is unquestionably true. But has there ever been a period of history since the English invasion in the 12th century in which it ever has done so? If not, what wonder if it fails to do so to-day? We are not at present dealing with causes, but with facts; and this fact has been a commonplace of history for 700 years. But the question is whether, on the whole, industrially, socially, economically, religiously, Ireland is to-day in a worse condition than it was, say 50 or 30 years ago. In other words, are we living in an age of general degeneracy or general revival, or a mixture of both? It must be admitted that Irish affairs are, as a rule, extremely complicated, and open to conflicting views; still I fancy it is at least doubtful whether they are so clearly on the downward grade, either as a whole, or in particular, as Mr. M'Carthy assumes. Diminution of population by the exodus, and the decline of certain industries and markets—on account of the increasing difficulty of competition with foreign markets—seem both to be clear facts. But from the point of view of those who remain in the country,

it seems really disputable as to whether the condition of things is growing worse. It is manifest that Land Commission rents and the buying-out principle have ameliorated the condition of the farming class in many districts, as I have learnt from the lips of the farmers themselves, and from residents who know the state of their own localities. The scarcity of the labour supply has secured better wages for labourers. The sinking of some industries has been followed by the revival of others, as for example, lace-making, crochet and weaving. There are no signs of a general, wide-spread, or acute distress throughout the country. Pauper statistics are misleading, as their increase often represents improved organisation and relief, rather than increase of want. Lunacy statistics also increase, not perhaps because more lunatics exist, but because more are registered and housed, and fewer left abroad. Crime statistics show a notable improvement, so that "crimeless Ireland" has become a newspaper cry. There is no denying that education has made rapid strides. As for the religious state of the people, instruction is more adequate, parishes are kept up more to the mark, facilities for Mass are improved. I hear on all sides of new developments; Boys' Brigades, Catholic Truth publications, Temperance Leagues, Confraternities, Missions and Retreats, Social Clubs, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, monthly Confession and Communion on the first Fridays, improvement in the training of priests, new life in the Theological Colleges, more effective Church organisation, industrial enterprise, endeavours after improved farming methods, revival of Irish language, music, etc.—all these things may be in their infancy, and may be criticised; but they denote a great spirit of revival, and a strong outbreak of national vitality which must issue in substantial results.

IX.—Protestant and Catholic Ireland Compared.

But let us assume for a moment that degeneracy exists, and turn to its causes. Perhaps the chief reason which has led Mr. M'Carthy totally astray in his endeavour to account for the alleged degeneration of Ireland lies in the fact that he has entirely ignored the teaching of history. He finds this degeneracy to exist only in the Catholic districts, where the influence of the Catholic priesthood is felt. In the Protestant districts, where there is no priestly influence, he finds prosperity and progress. Let us assume as broadly true—for in detail there is need of qualification—the contrast alleged, in all its clear definition. It is a fallacy to argue that because sacerdotalism and degeneracy are found together, and non-sacerdotalism and progress are found together, that sacerdotalism is the cause of the difference. The elements of J. S. Mill's principles of induction teach us to avoid drawing any such hasty conclusion. We must look at the other circumstances of the case. Does history provide us with an adequate explanation? If so, there is no need to resort to sacerdotalism. I maintain that history does.

X.—Causes of the Condition of Catholics.

Historians generally assign as causes of Catholic Ireland's backward condition—

(1) A system of penal legislation, placing Catholics, as such, in the position of social outlaws.

(2) Systematic boycotting of native Irish industry and commerce.

(3) A system of land laws under which farming enterprise was deprived of its fruits,—improvements resulting in raised rents or eviction.

(4) The absolute proscription of education.

(5) Periodic transplantation, and devastation of the land by English wars, making life and home precarious.

Under these circumstances the wonder is, not that the native population did not flourish, but that it continued to exist. The Emancipation Act, the improvement of land-laws, the introduction of education, the establishment of free trade, have at least partially removed these causes, but they have not suddenly obliterated their effects. The improvement which became possible within the last half-century, and which has gradually been inaugurated, has been thwarted in certain directions by several other causes, now to be enumerated :—

(1) The emigration movement, originating with the famine, and continued by the influence of example, by the openings afforded and successes achieved in America, and the keener recognition of the difficulties still existing in Ireland.

(2) As a result of emigration, the pick of the nation have been withdrawn from the country, leaving a larger proportion of the unfit at home ; with a consequent relative increase of poverty and disadvantage in the struggle for existence.

(3) A failure of certain industries—felt also in England and Wales, though in a less degree—due to the overwhelming competition of foreign markets, both as to agricultural produce, mining produce, and manufacture.

These causes account for the fact that, in spite of religious and social freedom, education, better land laws and an open market, Ireland's condition may be in some way worse from an industrial point of view than it has been in the past. As to whether it has actually grown worse—i.e., whether the present is really a time of degeneration—it seems difficult to ascertain. On the other hand, no one can deny that there exists at present a spirit of revival, and a determination to cope with the difficulties which exist and to overcome

them. In this sense we seem to be living in a time not of degeneration but of regeneration.

XI.—Causes of the Condition of Protestants.

Turning now to the Protestant section of the population—its prosperity can be explained by the total difference of historic conditions under which the Protestant settlers in Ireland have lived :—

(1) The absence of all religious proscription.

(2) The protection of Protestant trade, at least as a general rule.

(3) The Ulster right and other defences of the tenant against land oppression.

(4) Education allowed free development.

(5) Consequent absence of the causes which produced emigration.

(6) The already established connection of Protestant industry with English commercial enterprise.

In short, the story of prosperity on one side, and the absence of prosperity on the other, is the story of Protestant political ascendancy and Catholic religious and civil depression. Everything here laid down belongs to the commonplace of history.

Hence there is no need to resort to sacerdotalism for an explanation. But as Mr. M'Carthy has taken this as his thesis, we must follow him in the discussion of his lines of proof, or rather, of the data which he puts forward to serve as proofs.

XII.—The Numbers of the Clerical Organisation.

I gather from Thom's official directory that the total population of Ireland is roughly about 4,500,000. (From the Propaganda report of 1901 the Catholic population is about 3,500,000.) The Catholic Directory of 1901 shows that there are in Ireland 28 Bishops, 1,090 parishes, 1,010 parish priests, 1,869 administrators, curates, and other priests ; 557 priests of the Regular clergy

(total of priests, 3,438); parochial and district churches, 2,434; houses of religious priests, 84; of monks, 122, of nuns, 341.

From these figures, taken in round numbers, the following rough results seem to follow :—

One church for every 1,400 of the Catholic population.

One parish for every 3,500 of the Catholic population.

One parish priest and one or two curates for every 3,500 of the Catholic population.

One parochial priest for every 1,700 of the Catholic population.

One priest, secular or religious, for every 1,000 of the Catholic population.

One male religious house for every 17,000 of the Catholic population.

One convent of nuns for every 10,000 of the Catholic population.

These rough results—approximately correct, as I believe—show that Mr. M'Carthy's bald statistics, when reduced to a sum of proportion, reveal on his part an exaggerated estimate of the overwhelming character of sacerdotal numbers. As far as the religious needs of the people, no one can say that one parochial priest for every 1,700 people is an excessive average. To attend to the spiritual wants of even a thousand people is no light task for one man, if the work is to be efficient; and many priests have the care of a larger number than this, while others, of course, will have fewer under their charge. Many priests in scattered districts have to serve two chapels, and a single visit to the sick often means a double journey of five to six miles. I have worked in districts of this kind in King's County, and know what it means. The populations of city districts are confined within a small space, but the

numbers are often vast, and the difficulties of meeting particular parishioners considerable. It seems to me that the increase in the number of priests is only due to a need which even yet is inadequately met in many parts; and it rather brings out the insufficiency of the supply in past times than the excessive supply at present.

Mr. M'Carthy makes his figures look more formidable by including in the sacerdotal army those bodies of teachers, male and female, who are under vows, but who in other respects are lay men and lay women. Yet when treated proportionately, their numbers are not excessive in relation to the work they do. I can vouch from knowledge that they do a full day's work, equal to that of lay people engaged in the same occupations, and often far heavier. The only objection Mr. M'Carthy can truly allege against them is that their work is under episcopal management. He ignores the fact that as far as efficiency of results, all their public work is under inspection, wherever it is subsidised by Government. Where their work is incompetent, it is subject to the same penalties and forfeitures to which lay work is liable. The Government Inspectors can be trusted to know their own business, and anything like general incompetency would not long pass with impunity.

XIII.—Clerical Enterprise in Ireland.

As for the fact that the public institutions are under the direct or indirect management of the clergy, I should have thought this a good rather than a bad sign. It means that the clergy are at the head and front of the movement of progress; that they are trusted and found to be competent by the Government, and recognised as the only body in whose hands such institutions can be effectually worked. Considering how the Catholic population of Ireland is mainly made up, it seems obvious that no lay organisation on an extensive

scale would have been possible in the past ; nor will it be found necessary in the future so long as public officials are satisfied with the efficiency of the clergy and their co-operators, and the nation at large continues to recognise the immense public services which have been done by recent clerical enterprise, both with regard to education and other branches of progress. As for the management of funds, that again is a matter in which a nation can hardly be blinded ; and as it is obvious from Inspectors' reports that the efficiency of schools is carefully looked after, so it is equally obvious that the whole educational system can be carried on at much less expense by nuns, supported by their own dowries, than it could be by married lay people requiring a full sustentation salary. The public will not be taken in in a matter in which Mr. M'Carthy claims to be practically the only person with his eyes open.

XIV.—The Influence of Religion on the People.

As regards the stultifying effects of priestcraft, such a view is only possible to a man whose whole doctrinal position is that of the Protestant Reformation ; who regards the Mass and Sacraments as blasphemous fallacies, and the intercession of the saints on a par with Gaelic folk lore. From a Catholic point of view, the whole question is whether the people find their religion an impediment to temporal progress, or unfavourable to the cultivation of thrift and industry. Are they so impressed with the importance of the next world as to lose all interest in this ?

I can only register my own impressions. I think that for several centuries the peasant population found so little opportunity for industry or development in worldly ways—what with penal laws and bad land conditions—that they were obliged to give up this world's interests as a bad job, and to take consolation

in the thought that time is short and eternity long. I believe this attitude of mind became more or less hereditary among them, and that now, when things are bettering, they are only just beginning to realise that something can be made out of this world too. I believe that the clergy, as a body, are doing their best to inculcate a more hopeful idea; they find it difficult to produce quick results when it is a question of rooting out an hereditary habit; they will persevere in their efforts, and they will at last succeed. To show by a few instances what has been done in this way, I can speak from knowledge of Youghal and Foxford.

Youghal used to be one of the most decayed towns in Ireland. The nuns, and the nuns alone, have done a great deal towards redeeming it from decay. Inaugurated at the convent, there now exists a co-operative body, managing its own funds, consisting of from 200 to 300 lay women, manufacturing Irish lace and crochet-work on patterns designed by the Sisters, earning according to their own standard a competency; this lace is in such demand that the casual visitor can only see what is in actual process of manufacture. The state of Youghal has been considerably changed for the better by this industrial initiative of the nuns. This account I received from the lips of a recent visitor there.

At Foxford, one of the most woebegone places of the West, a revolution of similar interest and value has been worked by the same agency. Not only has the weaving of the well-known Foxford cloth been there established, but a healthy rivalry created among the inhabitants to show the neatest house and garden in the village, for which prizes are distributed by the nuns.

These are two out of many instances; I do not put them forward as anything more than indication that religious influence is not by any means hostile to the development of domestic and industrial enterprise. If

we are only content to wait a little longer, we shall see further indications and fruits of clerical endeavour for the temporal betterment of the people.

XV.—Money-Grabbing.

The charge of money-grabbing is a prominent one with Mr. M'Carthy. What struck me wherever I went was rather the absence of that priestly begging which is a practical necessity in some of the poorer parishes of England. The people are generous; the clergy have no need to beg. When they make an appeal, it is for some charitable or public work outside their own personal interest; and under all circumstances the people seem glad to give just because they feel free. Cases have occurred, I am told, in which undue pressure was put on the people. I have heard such a practice censured by the clergy themselves. They told me that such efforts defeated their own end, that the people resented pressure and closed their pockets; in short the people would not give unless they felt free. The same is true of stipends for Masses, which are altogether spontaneous. They like to offer money for Masses, and do so equally to the stranger as to their own priest. Once or twice I refused the stipend because I thought the people were too poor; they showed visible disappointment, valuing the Mass all the more because it had cost them something. A spirit of spontaneousness seemed to pervade all their money transactions. The same is true of collections for fine churches; the people are proud of their churches and proud of having contributed to them. I could not find anything of a systematic kind to corroborate Mr. M'Carthy's sinister views. As for advertisements about certain minor forms of devotions which bring in money, the money itself is assigned to purposes well declared, and no one is under the least pressure to contribute to St. Anthony's Bread, or to anything else. There is the advertisement

and the box. Any one who likes can leave it alone. There is no harm in admitting that not all advertisements of such a kind are in good taste ; but taste is a matter about which disputes are out of place.

XVI.—Emigration and its Causes.

The idea that our young men are fleeing to America to escape the sacerdotal incubus must have raised a laugh throughout Ireland. The incubus does not exist. Only men of the type of Mr. M'Carthy, whose knowledge of truth is derived from Protestant principles, seem to have felt it. There has been a remarkable absence of religious incubus among all the young men I have met. The only incubus they suffer from is the temptation to indulge their weaknesses and passions and neglect their religious duties; and this is common to human nature. Emigration has been amply accounted for on other grounds; and except for those who take to bad courses and so fall away from Christian practice, I believe that the emigrant finds the priest his best friend across the Atlantic, as he has found him his best friend at home.

XVII.—A Contrast Modified.

As for comparisons between Protestant and Catholic districts, in point of thrift and prosperity, these I believe are notoriously unfair. Ever since the plantations of Ulster and Derry took place, the Protestants of Ireland have been enjoying freedom from penal laws under which their Catholic compatriots were being crushed, while the Ulster right and other kindred forms of Government support have protected them from the tyranny of landlords. As we have already seen, their whole history is different from that of the Catholic majority. I made careful inquiries wherever I went as to the condition of the peasant class, and I found in the districts where secure tenure or reasonable rents

were in vogue, or where the land had been bought out, a notable indication of improvement—showing that if only the Irish Catholic receives a fair chance he is capable of rising to the occasion. The farmers' houses of Catholic Cavan struck me as in no way inferior to those of Protestant Antrim as regards neatness and signs of thrift and industry. If the Catholic standard as a whole is behind the Protestant standard, a little knowledge of their respective histories is sufficient to account for the difference.

XVIII.—Thrift of the Irish Peasantry.

But I have another impression to register about the thrift and industrial enterprise of the Irish peasantry. When I look at the vast tracts of almost hopeless bog-land which have been reclaimed by the labours of the poor, only to be taken from them, or retained at rents which their own industry has made it possible for the landlord to exact; when I view in the tracts of Kerry and of Connemara tiny patches of the mountain-side usurped from the barren wilderness and surrounded by the heaps of boulders which witness to the original state of the surface; when I reflect that all this is the outcome of Irish peasant patience and industry, working under conditions against which none but a people trampled down and starving would dream of struggling, and under which I should fancy none but a most optimistic race could have survived, I am inclined rather to the seeming paradox that the Irish Catholic peasantry, far from being the most thriftless and lazy, are the most thrifty and industrious people on the face of the earth. It is true that as soon as a meagre competency has been secured, some are content to do no more. But who is to blame for this, except those who have been responsible for a system by which the first signs of prosperity were followed by an increase of rent, or by the transfer of property into the hands of

some Protestant adventurer, whose avaricious eye had waited till the rough work of reclaiming had been done? "You have laboured," people of Ireland, "and others have entered into your labours." A large amount of ignorant cant has been written and spoken about Irish idleness and thriftlessness, as also about Irish dirt and squalor. A few months spent among the people, entering their cottages and talking to the inmates, provides a different tale. The casual visitor's eye is often deceived by the absence of that exterior trimness which marks the English rural cottage; on passing beyond the door my experience has been that abject squalor and filthiness are comparatively rare, even in the most remote country districts and among the poorest of the poor. Even in the towns slum life appears no worse, if as bad as the slum life of London, Manchester, or Glasgow, all of which I have seen sufficiently to enable an opinion to be formed. The wonder is how the Irish people have retained the slightest self-respect or vital spring, to say nothing of manners or delicacy of feeling. Yet I have been constantly charmed with the innate refinement of the peasantry compared with the corresponding classes in England, Scotland, and Wales; a quality I can only account for by the living influence of their religion—that religion which, in Mr. M'Carthy's imagination, is stupefying, degrading, hypnotising their minds and characters. I could write a volume of instances. I must rest content with merely registering my general impression.

XIX.—Probable Effects of the Book.

Such are the comments I think good to make on the main heads of Mr. M'Carthy's indictment against priests and people in Ireland. They are only the impressions of a sojourner, but they prevent me from subscribing in any way to those charges. It would be a remarkable thing if all my experiences were excep-

tional, so that wherever I did not go a totally different experience lay in store.

When Mr. M'Carthy's whole scheme is thus set forth and commented upon, the mischievous tendency of his book is thwarted. Over and over again Mr. M'Carthy has given away his case. Had he ventured to suggest that priestly organisation was not the best, and that lay organisation would be better, he might have gained a large sympathy. In maintaining that priestly organisation is essentially bad and ruinous he has spoilt his cause, and none but Protestants, whose doctrinal position is like his own, can possibly subscribe to his contention. I am even inclined to think his book will do good to a certain class of Catholics, who, I am told, are not uncommon in Ireland. I have met one or two myself, whose critical faculty has been over-developed at the expense of sound judgment, and who are given to carping at the clergy and religious for not achieving more than they do. Such critics forget that it is one thing to cope with living problems, and another to stand by and find fault. People of this disposition will probably recognise in Mr. M'Carthy's book a more deadly form of their own disease, and thus learn a lesson for themselves.

XX.—Character of the Evidence Alleged.

Having examined Mr. M'Carthy's thesis, we now turn to the evidence which he alleges in its support. An outsider from the Catholic Church in point of doctrine and tone of thought, he is also an outsider in point of knowledge and experience. Practically all his evidence is drawn from sources accessible to any other Protestant—cuttings from the newspapers, reports of sermons, meetings, missions, law and police reports, advertisements, blue books, and other published documents. Conscious of his own weakness, he makes it a point of credit to deal only with "matters of public comment

and notoriety"—and to "have discarded the immense amount of private information placed at my disposal, imputing offences against cardinal virtues to various members of the sacerdotal organisation, male and female" (p. xv.). Even this "private information" cannot be claimed as personal knowledge, but as something "placed at his disposal" by others. No one can deny the possibility of raking together a certain amount of clerical scandal, partly true, partly exaggerated, partly false, no matter in what age, place, or religious denomination. Such compilation might be a source of serious injury to the general reputation of any clerical body, and even liable to action for libel; but it would not be to the point. The question is not about isolated cases of human defection; it is about the whole clerical system, policy, and results. This is Mr. M'Carthy's thesis. The question is, how far his evidence makes towards its proof.

XXI.—Method of Argument.

It is of the utmost importance, in dealing with a work of this sort, to draw a strict line between the evidence produced and the series of results which its writer professes to draw out of that evidence. Bearing this in mind we shall, on reading critically, be able to detect the habitual use of the following methods:

A.—First, a great bulk of facts and figures, proving the great numbers and influence of the clergy and their organised helpers. Second, an assumption that such vastness of organisation means vastness of mischief; whereas this is precisely the point to be proved.

Or again:—

B.—First, an advertisement of pious devotions which bring in money. Second, an assumption that these devotions are thrust on the people, and that the money secured thereby is wrung from the laity by superstitious terrors or hypnotic delusion, and goes into the pockets

of the clergy for their own enrichment and luxury; whereas this is precisely the point not proved by the evidence.

C.—First, the discovery that large sums of public money are under clerical management. Second, an assumption that this money is misapplied to private uses or clerical aggrandisement—again the point left unproved.

Or:—

D.—First, a list of the routine duties and occupations of a priest, such as saying Mass, administering the sacraments, etc. Second, the assumption that no priest ever does more than this, in the way of visiting, helping his parishioners, or endeavouring to deal with individual souls—precisely the point left without proof.

Or, another method:—

E.—First, a broad, general assertion about the depravity of the people or the negligence of the clergy. Second, a single case, cut from the newspapers, of some crime on the part of an individual layman, or a single incident in the life of an individual priest. This single case stands as proof of the foregoing broad generalisation. It no more proves the general statement than the existence of "Jack the Ripper" convicts the English people of being a multitudinous gang of murderers.

XXII.—Illustrations of this Method.

It will be worth illustrating this method by a couple of instances:—

1. Assertion.—The Catholic Truth Society ought to be called the untruth society.

Proof I.—A list of their publications, comprising such works as Father Carberry's Devotion to the Sacred Heart; Wiseman's Lamp of the Sanctuary; Segur's Counsels on Holy Communion, shows the sort of nutriment the Society supplies.

Proof II.—A carpenter who threw gravel at the Plymouth Brethren in Phœnix Park is the sort of person nourished by the kind of food. Also a woman who murdered her husband in Queen's County (p. 579-80).

2. Assertion.—The Dominican's practice falls short of his preaching.

Proof.—Finding a drunken woman cursing "to hell with the Pope, bishops, and clergy," Father Keane had her arrested, and did not on the spot or afterwards read her a moral lecture on her sin (p. 582).

XXIII.—Unsupported Assertion.

Sometimes, where evidence fails, Mr. M'Carthy dispenses with its necessity:—

Asking how theological students occupy their years of training, he answers:—"Nominally in learning theology—that is to say, a system of effete and dishonest casuistry, which the prosperous Christian world emancipated itself from after much bloodshed and sorrow, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. They are forbidden to read the newspapers. They spend a great deal of time daily in 'meditations,' that is to say, sitting or kneeling and doing nothing. Their minds become steadily diseased. Every soft and elevating emotion of the human heart is eradicated under the sway of the ease-loving, callous, and cynical bachelors who control them. The finer filial and fraternal ties, which ought to bind them to their homes and kindred, are relaxed and obliterated. Subterfuge, evasion, and spying are rife under the mind-crushing regime of the theological colleges" (p. 587).

Or again:—

"The ecclesiastical student has one cardinal principle—that it would be an immeasurable crime, disgrace, treason, and meanness to leave the Roman Catholic Church. He may commit any crime, and be absolved

from it, but he must not commit that atrocious iniquity.

"He may disobey the Church every hour of his life, he may be a drunkard, a sensualist, a gambler, a murderer, and be forgiven as often as he desires, but he must not be guilty of the meanness of deserting the 'old faith'" (p. 589).

Mr. M'Carthy is true to his avowed position. The ignorant Protestant outside the Church can bring himself to the utterance of this kind of foul slander. No Catholic could possibly believe it, and anyone conversant with the inside of a theological college in Ireland, as I am, can speak with personal knowledge, of which Mr. M'Carthy clearly prossesses none. I observe that when it is a matter of really damning charges against the clergy Mr. M'Carthy's evidence fails him, and he is thrown back on the normal position and methods of the Maria Monk and Collette description—frantic assertion issuing from an envenomed imagination and bitter ill-will. I have sampled the theological colleges of Ireland. The least personal knowledge of them is a refutation of this calumny. What is true in Mr. M'Carthy's picture is not damaging; what is damaging is not true.

XXIV.—Fiction versus Fact.

No wonder if, after such a training, the full-grown priest were what Mr. M'Carthy holds him to be. Speaking of Father Sheehan, he says:—"Father Sheehan writes fiction; I write fact. But I am quite as competent to speak about Ireland, to put it mildly, as Father Sheehan is. I have lived all my life in Ireland. He, I understand, has not done so. And I feel it my duty to state that there are no such estimable priests in Ireland as the priests in Father Sheehan's book" (p. 343).

This is a typical instance. Let us analyse it. Father Sheehan, living all his adult life among priests, gives

to the world a number of sketches of priest-character, which he considers to be substantially true to the life. Mr. M'Carthy bases his claim to knowledge, not on years spent among the clergy, but on a lifetime spent in Ireland—seven years at a Protestant school and University, the rest devoted to collecting newspaper cuttings, and evidence drawn from outside—not very damaging evidence after all, when severed from assertion and unwarranted inference. Which of the two must we prefer as a judge of priestly character? Throwing my own personal experience into the scale, I should say Father Sheehan was right. I have spent a week or a fortnight at a time living with parish priests and curates—four in Down and Connor diocese, two in Meath, two in Armagh, two in Clogher, two in Ferns, five or six in Kildare and Leighlin, besides incidental intercourse with many others. And my verdict is that there must be a great number of such estimable priests in Ireland, because I have in my short experience lived with a fair sprinkling of them. I cannot believe that every priest I have met is an exception, and every priest I have not met is the rule. I abstain from generalising, however; for with such a lamentable instance of that disease before me in Mr. M'Carthy, I am not going to follow his example.

XXV.—Inconsistency in Blame.

Another sign of Mr. M'Carthy's animus, and the ill-digested character of his views, appears in the inconsistency he shows in his distribution of blame. Nothing the clergy do, or leave undone, can be right. When John the Baptist comes fasting, Mr. M'Carthy says he has a devil; when Christ comes eating and drinking, Mr. M'Carthy calls him a glutton and winebibber. He blames the clergy for keeping newspapers from theological students, he blames the full-grown priest for spending time on the papers. He blames the clergy

for not preaching sermons; he finds fault with their sermons when preached. He charges the clergy with interference and domineering over their flocks, and at the same time with isolation and neglect to visit, instruct, or help their flocks. He accuses them of neglect to instruct their people, and yet believes that they burn into their people's minds instructions which stultify and hypnotise them. When at last the clergy do something which is to their credit, on social or industrial lines, then the whole work is regarded as spoiled because religion is introduced into it, or because it is the result of clerical and not of lay initiative. He tells us what the bounden duty of the clergy is, and blames them for neglecting it. When they make practical endeavours to carry out this bounden duty, they are accused of interference or impropriety for doing it.

It will be worth studying a sample of this method at length. Writing about a certain immoral quarter in Dublin, in the neighbourhood of Gardiner Street and the Cathedral, he frames a strong charge of neglect against the clergy for not making a crusade on houses of ill fame, or trying to redeem the slaves of immorality. "I think it the bounden duty of every clergyman to exert himself to lessen the number of our fallen women, to save those who live by immorality, and to warn the young against the perils which exist. I think it his duty to visit and advise, and prevent by any moral means in his power the free exercise of this degrading trade" (p. 285). He acknowledges that the lay municipal authorities do not see their way to active measures, but "it is upon the clergyman, and not on the municipal and police authorities, that the first responsibility in this matter rests" (ib). He blames a particular group of the clergy for neglect of this duty. "I can truthfully say that I have never heard a word said against prostitution from the pulpit. Nor did I

ever hear of any practical effort made by the priests of Marlborough Street, or the Jesuits of Gardiner Street, to improve the criminal condition of this savage district" (p. 287).

The Dominicans, impressed with the greater practicability of prevention than of cure, start to do something by founding a much-needed residence for Catholic girls (p. 345). The Jesuits are said to attempt a similar enterprise (p. 350), placing the proposed institution in the hands of a committee of ladies (ib). This attempt to do their "bounden duty" is met by Mr. M'Carthy with nothing but sneers at the impropriety of bachelor priests taking charge of young girls—whom we have just been told they are bound at least to visit, warn, instruct, and help—and he condemns the whole scheme because it proceeds from the priests whose "bounden duty" it is, and not from the initiative of lay people who are not saddled with any such obligation.

As for sermons, retreats, or public instructions on the subject, we find the Redemptorists advertising retreats for women apart (p. 325). Mr. M'Carthy, of course, protests against bachelor priests giving special retreats to women. "I think it going too far to collect a body of women of various ages and conditions into a church to listen to private addresses from men. Such conduct is out of date, to describe it mildly and put no worse construction on it" (p. 337). So after all, Mr. M'Carthy, who blames the clergy because they do not preach sermons to mixed congregations on prostitution, condemns as improper any attempt of the same clergy to give instructions and advice on the same subject to specially selected audiences of people likely to need such help, and even utters veiled insinuations against Father Kane's personal morality because he merely mentions in the pulpit the historic facts about Luther's matrimonial relations (p. 273).

Whatever one may think of the possibilities of a clerical raid on the Dublin "purlieus," it is alarming to contemplate the capital Mr. M'Carthy would make out of the occurrence, if it once got noised abroad that the Jesuits and clergy of the neighbourhood were seen going in and out of the infamous houses of an immoral district, or found talking with people of a nameless profession in the streets, at the doorways, or in the parlour! As for measures of a more public character, Mr. M'Carthy tells us how the priests of Cork, with the co-operation of the landlords, succeeded in clearing out the infamous quarter of that city; but his acknowledgment of this action cannot go unaccompanied with a sneer, because, forsooth, a religious procession and a ceremonial purification of the evacuated dens of infamy formed part of the proceedings (p. 288).

XXVI.—Clerical versus Lay Initiative.

Nothing can satisfy this cynical writer. If the Total Abstinence Society organised by Capuchins at Church Street is a credit to them and a great gain to the city, we are told that "the same society under lay management would result in far more instruction and improvement, its present gains being to a great extent counterbalanced by the mental enslavement and impractical direction with which the members are saturated by the priests in power," (p. 333-4). So likewise the Temperance Confraternity of the Carmelites at Clarendon Street —"if it were only without the dominating influence of the priests [its founders], and rationally conducted under lay guidance, on benevolent principles, it would be an admirable institution. But there can be no self-improvement, no lasting good, capable of coming from such inanities"—as the spending of a pleasant social evening in song, and closing with "God bless the Pope" (p. 335-6).

If the Christian Brothers of Artane excite the admiration of Dublin for the splendid organisation of their Industrial schools, the only reflection it suggests is the public reproach "that such an army of young vagrants can be maintained from the delinquents of the population" (p. 379). And for the existence of such delinquents, of course, the Catholic clergy are exclusively and absolutely to blame.

XXVII.—General Conclusions.

I conclude, therefore:—

(1) That Mr. M'Carthy, on his own avowal, is not a Catholic; that is to say, would not succeed in securing his recognition as such from any ecclesiastical authority whatever, unless he recanted of his tenets as regards faith and morals, and consented to receive absolution from a long catalogue of heresies.

(2) That in point of knowledge he is an outsider to Catholic affairs, depending for his evidence on newspaper cuttings and hearsay rumours.

(3) That his dealing with the facts and figures he produces is superficial, and the inferences he draws from them to the damage of the clerical body unjustified by the evidence.

(4) That the evidence, properly weighed, is not damaging to the clergy, except so far as it reveals here and there defects incidental to all human organisations and to human nature in general.

(5) That his charges against the clergy, under the heads of domineering, oppression, money-grabbing, hypnotic or mystifying influence and the like, are not the outcome of his evidence, but of his heterodox, Protestant and envenomed imagination and anti-Catholic ill-will.

(6) That he betrays a singularly ill-balanced judgment, and fails to manifest even a rudimentary faculty for weighing evidence, or for the sound use of reasoning processes; besides exhibiting a remarkable blindness to the character of priestly enterprise and the public benefit following from it in Ireland, and showing a determined purpose of regarding everything done or left undone by the clergy as reprehensible, pernicious, or wrong. He is also apparently ignorant of the historic antecedents of the evils he deplores, which are amply explained by well acknowledged historical causes quite different from those he assigns.

(7) Finally, his work will be deservedly ignored in Ireland by all those who have the well-being of the Catholic people at heart. If it is calculated to do mischief, this will only be in the way of keeping up Protestant prejudice and rancour, and of leading astray superficial readers—readers incapable of studying his book critically, and of discovering its crass incompetency and unfairness; readers incapable of providing for themselves that antidote which is to be found in personal knowledge of the inner workings of the Catholic Church in its organisation and members.

APPENDIX.

In illustration and confirmation of some of the main points contained in the foregoing pages, it will be profitable, by way of an appendix, to select a few passages from a recent Protestant writer, whose word, as being that of an outsider, may in some quarters meet with all the readier credence. In his book entitled "The Wild Irishman," Mr. Crossland writes as follows:

PRIESTCRAFT.

Are there too many priests in Ireland? Yes. Is Dublin "black with them?" Yes. Do they appear to be as frequent on the countryside as crows? Yes. Are they extorting from the Irish people money which is sorely needed for secular purposes? Yes. Here you have four pertinent questions, which invariably crop up when Ireland is discussed, together with the average answers to them. "It is the priests!" cry both well and ill-informed. According to the latest critic—who it seems once occupied the superfluous position of "literary editor of the *Daily Mail*"—"one of the heaviest drags on the life of Ireland is the religious vocation. The monasteries and nunneries prosper and increase, choking and interfering with the circulation of labour and of industry in the country." Also:—"It is my profound conviction that a large proportion of the present misery of Ireland, is not only bound up with, but is actually a result of the country's religion." Also:—"The houses of the people are so indecently small; the houses of the church are so indecently rich and large. Out of the dirt and decay they arise, proud and ugly and substantial, as though to inform the world that at least one thing is not dying and despondent, but keeps its loins girded and its lamps trimmed." This roughly is the indictment.

Appended are some of the figures upon which it is based. Mr. Michael M'Carthy, himself a Catholic (?) says "a cardinal, 3 archbishops, 25 bishops, 2 mitred abbots, and 2,722 secular priests, together with a host of regular priests of all the different Orders, such as Jesuits, Franciscans, Vincentians, Holy Ghost, Carmelites, Passionists, Augustinians, Mary Immaculate, Dominicans, Cistercians, Marists, Redemptorists and so forth, all of whom flourish in Ireland—such is the force which constitutes the formidable clerical army of the Catholic Church in Ireland ; and its auxiliary forces are the numerous Orders of nuns, Christian Brothers, lay brothers attached to the regular Orders, and so forth; together with the great body of Catholic national teachers, male and female, who are under the control of the priests, and teach catechism in the churches; the parish priests, as managers of the parochial national schools, having the power of dismissing the teachers." "May it not be said of this great organisation," adds Mr. M'Carthy, "that 'it is on a scale such as few nations would be able and willing to afford?'"

To dispose of the indictment first, we may quote a little further from the author of it. He writes. "So far as they are individually concerned they (the priests) are in many cases the true friends of the poor. They help them in their affairs, settle their disputes and then claim for them their rights, comfort them in their sorrows, admonish, encourage, cherish and watch over them. This is at the best. At the worst they are hard and cruel, selfish and unjust, over-eating and over-drinking—a grotesque and monstrous company. But these are the minority ; and on the whole the priests perform the duties of a dreary life as well as could be expected of a narrow and half-educated class of men." Now if this means anything at all, it means

that the person responsible for it believes that the Catholic priesthood of Ireland, is socially useful and necessary. The minority of its members are "hard and cruel, selfish and unjust," which is true of the minority in other priesthoods besides the Irish. But the majority "are the true friends of the people, helping them in their affairs, settling their disputes, claiming for them their rights, comforting them in their sickness, admonishing, encouraging, cherishing and watching over them."

How the majority manages to accomplish so much, if it is composed of a "narrow and half-educated class of men" passes comprehension; but we have the fact that it manages it, which is satisfactory. Further, our friend omits, in the plenitude of his deprecation, to mention that the "religious vocation" in Ireland is by no means the softest, easiest and rosiest of vocations, amounting indeed to a species of spiritual and physical servitude of the severest kind; and that the religious Orders, so far as they may be represented in "monasteries and nunneries," are self-supporting, subsisting austerely on the labour of their own hands, and devoting themselves to the most arduous charitable and educational work without fee or reward. And as to "indecently rich" houses of the church, such an epithet as applied to the Catholic churches of Ireland is quite preposterous. There is no "indecently rich" Catholic church in all Ireland. That there are Protestant churches with incomes amounting to a comfortable number of hundreds per annum and not half a dozen souls in the way of a *bona-fide* congregation may be granted: but the Catholic church with as little as £100 a year and no congregation does not exist. Neither can it be maintained that the Irish Catholic churches are "indecently rich" in the matters of architecture or adornment—the long-drawn aisle and fretted

vault, gorgeous windows, splendid altars and vessels, or other elaborate fitments, being the exception and not the rule. Indeed our author himself complains that "the ugliness of the churches in Ireland is revolting to the healthy sense," and that "the decorations" which "enshrine the mysteries of the Mass" are "cheap" and "hideous," so that on his own showing "indecently rich" somehow fails to fit in.

Now for the figures. The population of Ireland at the last census was roughly 4,500,000 and the population of England and Wales 32,500,000. In Ireland there are 3 archbishops, 25 bishops, without reckoning Episcopalians. In England and Wales there are 2 archbishops, 33 bishops and 8 assistant bishops and 27 bishops suffragan, without reckoning 1 Catholic archbishop and 15 bishops, and the chiefs of the Wesleyan, Methodist, New Connexion, Primitive Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Free Church, Salvation Army, Church Army, Calvinistic, Unitarian, Catholic Apostolic, and a host of other bodies.

In the matter of hierarchy, therefore, Ireland is not exactly overburdened, even if it be admitted that she should take her pattern from England. Then, as against Ireland's 2,722 secular priests, England boasts the amazing total of 23,000 beneficed and unbeneficed clergy, plus from 7,000 to 10,000 Nonconformist ministers and 20,000 Salvation Army "Officers." So that, at a moderate computation, while there is one priest or minister of religion to every 500 of the population in England, there is only one priest to every 800 of the population of Ireland. The ratios indicated may not be exact, but they are based on Whitaker and pretty near the mark. Taken another way the position amounts to this. In an English townlet of from 3,000 to 4,000 population you will find, as a rule, a couple of vicars, three or four curates, a Wesleyan

Minister, a Baptist Minister, a Congregational Minister, a Catholic priest and a couple of Salvationists. In an Irish townlet of the same size you have possibly six Catholic priests and a solitary Episcopalian. Dreadful, is it not? Being mainly of one sort, as it were, the priests of Ireland appear to be much thicker on the ground than the clergy and ministers of England. But it is nothing more nor less than an optical illusion —one of those many illusions upon which judgments about Ireland are usually formed.

As to places of worship, it has been charged against the Irish Church, that she builds too much. "The traveller walking or driving across the wastes of that empty land," says the author previously quoted, "will nearly always find that the first thing to break the monotony of the horizon is a tower or spire; and when he arrives at the desperate little huddle of cabins or cottages that makes a town he will find, dominating and shadowing it, the Catholic chapel. Sometimes indeed, the buildings are poor and rough: but these are becoming fewer and fewer, and are now gradually, even in the poorest districts, being replaced by structures strangely out of keeping with the ruinous poverty around them. The last few years have seen in Ireland a great activity in the building of these chapels; the very slight increase which has taken place in the standard of living has made the movement possible." Assuming this to be a just statement of the case, is it not equally true of our own England? Has not the building of churches, chapels and general places of worship proceeded as merrily in the poorer districts of the larger English towns during the past decade, as ever it did in Ireland?

Where can you turn in England without seeing a spire? Where is the townlet, or suburb, or slum that has not got its brand new red-brick Anglican church, or its ruddy, stone-fronted Bethesda, or its castellated,

prison-like Salvation Barracks? Furthermore, the English temples are seldom half full. You have to provide a sort of religious variety entertainment, with services of song, magic-lantern sermons, brass bands and the like to get the people in at all; whereas the churches of Ireland are full to over-flowing, and the congregations do not require the lure of a steady succession of novelties, or, indeed, any departure from the prescribed offices.

The fact is that the Irish Church and the Irish priesthood have been cruelly and brutally maligned by pretty well every sand-blind writer and carpet-bagging politician who has visited the country. We have blamed upon the Church, poverty and distress and ignorance and squalor which are the direct outcome of bad government and not of priestly cupidity.

We have said in effect to our Irish brethren, "You are too indigent to have a religion, or churches, or spiritual guidance. Every penny you pay for these things is sheer waste of money, particularly as it keeps our rents down. And inasmuch as you are of one Church and one mind—which is a thing unthinkable in this free and enlightened England—you are slaves and soulless."

But the Church of Ireland goes on its way, and in the words of Archbishop Corke, which by the way Mr. M'Carthy, Irish Catholic, quotes with a sneer, "[The Irish Priesthood] holds possession of the people's hearts to a degree unknown to any other priesthood in the world."

MORALS.

For all practical purposes, and in spite of everything that can be brought against her, Ireland may be justly described as a moral country, even as Scotland is an essentially immoral country and England a middling one. It is true we live in a time when morality has

ceased to matter and virtue is become a reproach. The world has divided itself into two camps—the one scientific, the other artistic. Neither of them profess the smallest concern with morals.

We have invented new and most blessedly euphonious names for the old wickednesses. Robbery is called competition; lying, smartness; effrontery, pluck; cowardice, courtesy; avarice, thrift; cunning, wisdom; and so forth. And when it pleases us we can e'en find hard names for the Christian graces. The faith of Ireland, for example, has been discovered to be fanaticism, bigotry, paganism, materialism, idolatry, and I know not what besides; her charity is credited to her for pusillanimity; her patience and long suffering for indolence and apathy. What wonder, therefore, that the very chastity upon which her national morals are based should at length have been assailed. Hearken to the inspired ex-literary editor of the *Daily Mail*:—

"The crowning achievement of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the thing which is unparalleled elsewhere in the world, is the complete and awful (*sic*) chastity of the people. There is many a country district where that incident which in England and Scotland is regarded merely as a slight misfortune is unknown and unimagined by the people. I have seen a man, the father of a grown-up family, blanch and hold up his hand at the very name of it, as though even to breathe it were a blasphemy. And this, in itself a good thing, has reached such a point, that it has become a dreadful evil. It is no longer a virtue, it is a blight."

And the dear young gentleman goes on to assert that it is the chastity of the Irish people, which fills Irish lunatic asylums and exclaims dithyrambically: "There may be no illegitimates in Ireland; but a hundred illegitimates would, in Ireland's peculiar cir-

cumstances, be a more gracious and healthy sign than one lunatic." Here surely is wisdom of the highest and most delightful type.

We have already seen that the increase of lunacy in Ireland has been pronounced, by the committee which sat on the question in Dublin, to be mainly due to excessive drinking and the assimilation of adulterated spirits. The committee may not have been right; for my own part I think it was decidedly wrong. But it delivered itself of no pronouncement which warrants either the scientific or the ribald to associate Irish lunacy with chastity, rather than with drink or other predispositions.

If chastity fills the lunatic asylums how come the Irish priesthood to be at large, or for that matter the women of the English middle classes and honest women all the world over? And if profligacy be a preventive of lunacy, how comes it that in Scotland you have as many lunatics as you have in Ireland, and about ten times as many illegitimates? Can it be that of two evils Caledonia, with her customary shrewdness, has chosen both? The (M'Carthy's) suggestion is as ridiculous as it is abominable, and as scandalous as it is malicious. Even in the sense which our *Daily Mail* young person may be presumed to have in mind, it is the direct opposite of chastity that helps to people lunatic asylums, and never chastity itself, "blight" or no blight. I mention this wholly unprecedented incursion into sophistry only by way of showing what the astute censors of Ireland really can do when they set themselves to work; and although I have no proof on the subject I should like to wager that the author of it is an Orangeman and of Scotch extraction. It is no compliment to Ireland to say that, in theory at any rate, her morals are entirely sound. In other words, Ireland

believes in virtue and goodness, even though she may not always succeed in living up to her tenets. [So far Mr. Crossland].

A VOICE FROM AUSTRALIA.

One more quotation may point a contrast suggested by the very strange and, we may say, ridiculous, views of Mr. M'Carthy on the subject of Christian morality. The evils, now deplored in many parts of the English-speaking world, in connection with the decay of family life and the fall in the birth-rate, as a result of divorce, may be matter for jubilation to Mr. M'Carthy, but this quotation will speak for itsef in favour of Ireland's morality to ordinary sensible lmen and women. The words are from the *Monitor* :—

"The only country in Christendom to-day which has no divorce court, never has had a divorce court, and knows nothing of it, is Ireland." Words of Cardinal Moran, of Australia.

"Surely this is a record for any country to be proud of ; it is a positive proof of national purity, and plainly demonstrates that the sons and daughters of the Green Isle have never minimized nor compromised one iota of the teaching of the faith of Christ, which they received at the hands of their glorious Apostle, St. Patrick. The reasons of the social and domestic purity of the Irish race are founded on their love of Christ, their ardent hunger and thirst for the frequent reception of the Blessed Sacrament, and their Christian respect and veneration for the Mother of God. These are the abiding, protective graces of the Irish race at home and abroad. Hence the children of Catholic Ireland, who are frequently nourished with the Bread of Angels and who have as a refuge and a home the perpetual sanctuary of the True Fold, can never have anything to do with divorce; to them even the thought of divorce is criminal."

THE MAKING AND UNDOING OF IRELAND.

WHILE passing the criticism of Mr. M'Carthy's book on Ireland through the press, we came across the following review in *Catholic Book Notes* (Sept. 21, 1908), and are glad to make use of it in order to bring before the notice of those interested in Ireland the existence of so valuable a work, as well as to support some of our strictures on Mr. M'Carthy :—

Mrs. J. R. Green's volume on "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing" (10s. net Macmillan) is to our thinking the most important book which has been published about Ireland for many a day. It presents a view of Irish history which, indeed, is not entirely new, but which has never before been expressed with so much clearness and supported by such a weight of authority. Ireland has ever been the outcast of the nations, and while the progress of historical research has busied itself with the annals of other peoples, and in doing so has dispelled old-time prejudices and vulgar traditions, it has left Ireland out in the cold with the worst results for all who desire to attain a true view of "the reasons why the land has ceased to be of profit to the Crown of England."

Of the writing of history in general it may at least be claimed that the object has long since ceased to be other than that of attaining a true insight into causes and their results. But much of the misunderstanding which even now does so much to keep wide apart the sympathies of those who are best disposed in England and Ireland is due to the egregious perversion of history which Mrs. Green has set herself to correct. The day is scarcely yet

passed when the fable of Irish barbarism was accepted for an historical truth in this country. In spite of the fame of Irish saints, the evidence of their sanctity being scattered all over Europe—in spite of the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Book of Kells—in spite of the evidence of the piety and learning of the sons of Ireland scattered from Iona to Taranto, from Salzburg to Lucca—in spite of the fact that there was not a seat of learning in any country in Europe which did not boast of some scholar of the Irish nation—there was still a tendency to believe that the people of Ireland from the 12th to the 16th centuries were a "savage race, idolatrous, murderous, immoral, destitute of the very elements of civilization." So deeply has this idea of Irish life and history—originated so far back as the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, "that lying bull of the herd,"—become accepted; so much have subsequent writers become habituated to adopt without investigation or hesitation the view put forward by hostile, unsympathetic, and time-serving viceroys that "the people are such that Satan himself cannot exceed in subtlety, treachery, and cruelty"—that all the evidences of Irish culture were discounted, and no other view was recognized than that Ireland was a land sunk in barbarism and chaos. And this for no better reason than that a nation having its own ideals, its own history, its own laws, its own customs, its own poetry and music, refused to accept those of another people differing from theirs in every respect and of the superiority of whose tastes they had assuredly no reason to be convinced.

Examining the social life of Ireland between 1200 and 1600, Mrs. Green shows by authorities which are accepted as the ground-work of history that Ireland was a land of peace and prosperity, of ordered civilization and contented rule; that its cities enjoyed a life

of settled commerce and successful enterprise, its merchants trading not alone with England, but with France, Spain, the Low Countries, and Italy; that a happy alliance existed between the merchants of the seaports and the chieftains and Anglo-Norman barons of the surrounding districts, by which the mutual interest of each were promoted; that piety was then, as now, the distinguishing characteristic of the Irish race; and that the love of learning, of hospitality, and of whatsoever things are pure and of good repute adorned every phase and aspect of the life of the Irish people up to the 16th century.

In support of this view Mrs. Green takes up the history of the trading centres in Ireland, and examines one by one the growth of the cities of Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford. She shows the rise and expanding influence of these trading communities, and proves that the happiest relations existed between the merchants and the chieftains and freeholders of the surrounding country. Nor was the prosperity of the Irish nation during the four centuries under review confined to the cities. It spread throughout the entire land, manifesting itself not only in the cultivation of the arts of life but also in the comfort of the dwellings of the people and the fineness and splendour of the dress of all classes in the community. This ordered life, this comfort and dignity, was found not only within the limits of the Pale, but in no less a degree in the remote parts of the island. This happy and peaceful national life, enduring and growing for four hundred years, was, in Mrs. Green's phrase, "the making of Ireland."

The "undoing" of Ireland, according to Mrs. Green, began in the 16th century, when the English traders first became conscious that their Irish rivals were formidable opponents, and when the penniless younger

sons of the English nobility began to set covetous eyes on the land beyond the Irish Sea. To make possession of the rich fields and fertile lands of Ireland secure, it became necessary to expel those whose peaceful possession went back for generations; and to oust the Irish merchants from their trade the English adventurers had to enter on a war of proscription. The Sydneys and the Spensers, and in worse measure those who followed them, came to Ireland for no other purpose than to acquire by what means might be open to them sufficient fortune to enable them to bask in the smiles of "Gloriana"; they had no understanding of the people whom they were sent to govern, they spoke not the Irish tongue nor mixed with the Irish people, and thus the seeds were laid of that discontent which, increasing by the poverty caused by misgovernment, ended with acts of violence which gave excuse for measures of still greater oppression. In like manner the growing commerce of the cities was crushed for the benefit of rival English traders by enactments which prevented the Irish merchants from trading directly with foreign countries, which precluded them from importing to any country but England, who imposed on their products extortionate taxation and forced them to accept payment in a debased coinage.

The value of Mrs. Green's work is much increased by her evident impartiality, and still more by the fact that it is at first hand and founded on original sources. Acts of Parliament which, as they deal with the future, cannot lie; letters and dispatches from viceroys, ministers, and high officials; the publications of the State Papers, the Rolls Series, and similar contemporary works of unquestionable authority—these form the groundwork of Mrs. Green's book, and support every point in her entrancing narrative.

[The End.]

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following essay on the *Early Life of Our Lady* is written for the information of Catholics. Its object is not devotional but frankly though moderately critical. It is an indirect protest against the too ready introduction of legendary matter into popular lives of Our Lady, and an endeavour to distinguish between what we know and what we do not know outside the inspired and authentic sources. We believe that devotion will always be more healthy and sound if it rests on ascertained facts, and not on the dubious fabrications of the romancist. On this subject Mgr. Le Camus, in his recent *Life of Christ*, writes as follows:—"As if to make up for the silence of the Gospels, legendary lore has given us many strange and incredible stories. Certain apocryphal gospels are replete with them; but it would be wrong to seek anything of serious import in these puerile compositions. Wherever the work of falsehood is evident, neither art nor piety should seek for inspiration. All that is not the truth, being dangerous and unsound, ought to be earnestly rejected. Let us admit that we do not know whatever the true Gospels have not told us" (p. 157). In a footnote he adds:—"One of these apocryphal gospels had great success and a lamentable influence, especially in the Orient. This was the *Protevangelium*, thus named because it reports facts anterior to what is contained in our canonical Gospels—the miraculous birth of Mary; her education in the Temple, where she was fed by angels; the series of prodigies that moved the high-priest to confide her to St. Joseph, already an old man and burdened with a family, etc.

It found its way into the Occident under a double form and with diverse developments, etc. It was in this way that it had an influence on the histories of Mary and Joseph which an ill-inspired piety thought necessary to write. If the readers of these legends ever have the legitimate curiosity to run through the apocrypha from which they are derived, they may easily judge of the credit which they deserve" (p. 157, English edition).

This strong declaration, coming as it does from a writer who has received the special praise of the Holy Father, holding him up as a model of moderate, judicious and healthy criticism (letter of Pius X dated January 11th, 1906), will afford a complete justification of this essay and will furnish a quasi-authoritative answer to those devout souls who, in their simplicity, take on implicit faith every pious legend they find in popular devotional books, and who imagine that to question the truth of such legends savours of impiety. At the same time our treatment even of the apocryphals is by no means drastic—allowing as we do that, even if they possess no historical weight by themselves, they may still embody elements of fact—especially where these are in harmony with the historical or liturgical traditions of the Church.

ERNEST R. HULL, S. J.,

Editor of THE EXAMINER.

Archbishop's House, Bombay, January 1910.

THE EARLY LIFE OF OUR LADY.

(*From the Bombay Examiner of* 1905.)

PART I.

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

HAD it been the intention of God to furnish us with a complete life of Our Lady, he would undoubtedly have taken the providential means necessary for that end. As a matter of fact he has not done so, with the result that our knowledge is extremely limited. Of the paucity of the data supplied, Father Coleridge writes: —"The history of Our Lady, both interior and exterior, is not written for us in the records of Scripture nor preserved for us by any authentic tradition of the Church;" And devout writers often lay stress on this meagreness of our information in order to draw from it certain lessons about the beauty of a life hidden in God, etc.

SCRIPTURAL DATA.

If asked to state accurately what we do know about Mary, we should be able to point to three authentic sources of information only, viz. Scripture, dogmatic tradition and liturgical tradition. Taking these in turn:—Scripture furnishes us with the direct narration of a few events, beginning with the annunciation and ending in the upper chamber on the day of Pentecost. As we are here solely concerned with the life of Mary prior to the annunciation, the only details of the gospels which now concern us are those which have a retrospective bearing on this earlier period. In the annunciation account we find Our Lady described as a virgin called Mary, dwelling at Nazareth, and espoused to Joseph, of the house of David. There is some ambiguity in the clause "of the house of David." Gramma-

tically it may apply to Joseph or it may apply to Mary. That St. Joseph was of the house and family of David is clearly stated later, as the reason why the holy family went to Bethlehem for the census (Lk. ii 4) and probably the expression applies to him here also. Whether Mary too was of the house of David is the question. Her relationship with Elizabeth (Lk. i 36) was taken by some to suggest that she was of the tribe of Levi. Others have assigned her lineage to that of Ephraim, etc. On the other hand, the fact that Mary was espoused to Joseph is taken to support the Davidic lineage of Mary—because of the Jewish custom to marry within the same tribe. The genealogical tables, which trace the pedigree of Christ from David, as well as the fact that Christ himself was of the line of David according to the flesh—all focus towards the conclusion that Mary too was of David's line; a point we shall consider more exactly in the sequel.

In the second place, the fact that Mary was actually espoused at the time of the Annunciation, when taken in connection with her wonder "how this thing should be done seeing that I know not man"—(Lk. i 34) points with such definiteness to the design of perpetual virginity that it is impossible, without ignoring the implication of the words, to avoid that conclusion. And thus we derive from Scripture a firm support for the traditional belief that Mary had taken a vow or 'at the least made some fixed determination, notwithstanding her future marriage, to remain in the virginal state.

TRADITIONAL DATA.

At this point the Scripture abandons us to our own resources. It tells us nothing of the age of Mary or of Joseph at the time. It tell us nothing of the circumstances in which Mary was living at Nazareth—whether with parents or relations, etc. It tells us nothing as to who those parents were, and nothing about her relations

—except that in other places we read of the ADELPHOI KURIOU (the brethren of the Lord) who according to Catholic doctrine were not his brothers in the strict English sense, and to whom tradition assigns a more distant relationship such as the Scripture usage of *adelphos* justifies. It is only by conjecture based on Jewish customs that we can assume the age of Our Lady to have been something between twelve and eighteen at the time of her espousals; and it is from the same sources that we can gather the forms which were used in the espousals and subsequent marriage.

Our Scriptural knowledge is supplemented by drawing on dogmatic tradition. We believe that Mary was born of natural parents by natural means; but that in her conception she enjoyed the unique privilege of freedom from the common ban of original sin. Besides this she was endowed with grace in a special manner befitting her high future office as the mother of the Redeemer. We believe that both in intention and effect she always remained in her virginal integrity. She was moreover free from all actual sin, and from all corrupt inclinations towards sin. This is in substance all that can be asserted concerning the early life of Mary, as far as strictly dogmatic tradition and definition is concerned.

Thirdly we derive a little help from liturgical tradition. The Church commemorates the two parents of Mary on two separate feasts (Mar. 20th and July 26). Her immaculate conception is celebrated on December 8th ; her nativity on September 8th ; her presentation on November 21st, her espousals on January 23rd; her annunciation on March 25th, and the nativity of her Divine Son on December 25th. These celebrations give authentic witness to the events commemorated ; without however determining their actual dates, and without guaranteeing every legendary detail which has by one means or other been gathered round the events.

Although this is all we can assert as actually known to us with certainty, it does not therefore follow that everything else, of a traditional or legendary character, which has ever been added to this account, is necessarily false. A legend is not necessarily untrue because unauthenticated, and it would often be as great a fault of dogmatism to flatly deny, as it would be to confidently assert certain of the stories which have maintained a floating existence in Christendom from early times. It shall therefore be our endeavour in the following papers to examine some of these additional particulars which have obtained currency, and which are to be judged simply according to the evidence which can be found for or against them. In no case can we reach a demonstration of the truth of these extraneous details; but we can at least determine what portions of them are probable, what portions improbable, and what portions bear the mark of falsity on their face. Let us proceed therefore to sketch out the history of the parentage and early years of Our Lady, as it is found in the legends of apocryphal and popular literature, marking in brackets the variations found in different sources:—

APOCRYPHAL DATA.

Joachim, a Jew belonging to the tribe of Judah, was a rich shepherd who resided in Jersualem [or in Nazareth]. He had been married for twenty years to Anne of Bethlehem, also belonging to the tribe of Judah. The union however had not been blessed with issue. This was a lasting cause of grief to the holy pair, who offered prayers and good works without ceasing in the hope that this reproach might be taken away. Their harrowed feelings reached a climax when Joachim, entering the Temple on one of the greater feasts, was upbraided by a priest named Roben [or by Issachar, the high priest of that time] on account of the fuitlessness

of his marriage. Joachim withdrew loaded with shame, and returned to his home; where Anne made a vow that if she should conceive a son or daughter she would offer it to God in his Temple. She then received the vision of an angel announcing that she should conceive a child. In due course of time Mary was born. At the age of six months she was able to walk seven steps; at the age of one year she was offered to the high priests to be blessed. At the age of three she was taken to the Temple, and presented there in accordance with the vow made before her conception. She was left a short time near the fifteen steps which surround the Temple, while her parents changed their travelling clothes. But the little maiden began to walk unaided up the whole flight of steps, and so swiftly that her parents lost sight of her [another account states that "she danced with her feet on the third step of the altar, and all Israel loved her."] Having offered a sacrifice her parents left the child within the enclosure of the Temple, there to be educated with the other virgins, and then returned home. In that state of life Mary dwelt till she was twelve years of age [other accounts say ten, others again fourteen.] During this period she had made a vow of perpetual virginity. [According to some of the more fantastic descriptions, she dwelt in the sanctuary, or even in the Holy of Holies, and was daily visited and fed by angels]. When she had come to the proper age (12) the priests in charge held a council debating what was to be done with her ["lest perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord"—Protev. Jacobi]; whereupon the high priest went into the Holy of Holies and prayed. In reply God told him to bring together all the widowers of the people with their rods, and to wait a sign from the Lord. Then the heralds went out and proclaimed the matter to all the people; and

Joseph[who is represented throughout as a widower with several children, and advanced in years] threw away his axe and came with the rest. Then a dove flew out of Joseph's rod ; and this was the sign of his selection. Joseph at first refused on account of his children and his age; but at last yielded to the will of God, and took Mary away to his house. At the time of the annunciation Mary was sixteen years old. [So far the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. The *Pseudo-Matthew* adds that Joseph took five other virgins into his house with Mary. The *Nativitas Mariae* adds that besides the dove, flowers blossomed out of Joseph's rod. The *History of Joseph the Carpenter* states that St. Joseph had four sons and two daughters by his first wife ; that he enjoyed such a repute for wisdom that he was elevated to the priesthood in the Temple of the Lord. Other accounts tell how one of the suitors for the hand of Mary, who found himself rejected, broke his rod in vexation and retired to Mount Carmel, where he built a chapel in honour of Our Lady, etc.]

SOURCES OF THE STORY.

Such in outline is the apocryphal history of Our Lady's parentage and early life down to the annunciation. We now turn to give some short account of the sources whence the account is derived :—

(1) The *Protevangelium Jacobi*, or " History of James about the origins of Mary, " is perhaps the most ancient. It commences with the story of SS. Joachim and Anne, and closes with the massacre of the Innocents. It was condemned in the Gelasian list (c. A. D. 494) under the name of the " Gospel of James. " The present Greek text dates probably from the fourth century. It consist partly of an adaptation of the Gospel narratives, the remainder being regarded as grossly fabulous though free from heresy. (So writes Batiffol, Dict. de

la Bib. sub. tit. Evang. Apoc.) Its original composition is not much earlier than the close of the second century. Origen (c. A. D. 250) and Clement of Alexandria (d. 217) appear to have known it in some early form.

(2) The *Pseudo-Matthew* or "Book about the origins of Blessed Mary and of the infancy of Christ, written by St. Matthew," is a Latin adaptation of the foregoing. The translation has been attributed to St. Jerome ; but the letters on which this is based are not genuine. Its date is uncertain.

(3) The *Nativitas Mariæ* or "Birth of Mary," in substance resembling the foregoing; but with variations and original portions added. Date uncertain.

(4) *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, written in Coptic and translated into Arabic. The story is represented as if delivered by Christ to his apostles, one day, on the mount of Olives. It recounts not only the earlier life but also the death of St. Joseph. Probably belongs to the fifth—perhaps the fourth century. It is designated by Batiffol (ibid) as a romance ; the facts contained being "pure fiction."

(5) There is a so-called Gospel of St. Thomas, and several other similar works ; but their contents refer to the time later than the nativity of Christ, and so they fall outside our scope. There is also an amount of other apocryphal matter, scattered about in the early literature generally, which it would be too tedious to mention in detail.

As regards the various items mentioned in these romances, obviously it does not follow that everything they contain over and above the gospel facts must be false. Some modern novels are mainly based on facts of history, and it was quite possible for an ancient author to have embodied such traditional facts as he knew of.

For instance, the description of the nativity of Christ taking place in *a cave outside Bethlehem* is confirmed not only by local tradition at Bethlehem—where the cave itself is still shown—but by a native of Palestine who wrote in the second century. We mean Justin Martyr, who speaks of the cave as then known. There may be other facts correctly preserved in these pages without our being able to check them from other sources. Still the authors show no signs of what may be called "literary conscience," or any scrupulous intention of writing a history. They were manifestly bent on no other end than to produce a pious romance, supplementing the meagreness of the gospel records. In short, these writings possess no evidential value *as authorities;* and if anything they state is accepted as probable, this is not because the matter is recorded there, but because it is supported on other grounds—such as agreement with Jewish custom, or with data derived from other sources, whether dogmatic, liturgical or historical. The fact that some of the Fathers repeat the stories contained in these romances does not prove much more than is proved by their repetition among devotional writers at the present day. Many of the Fathers reproduced and perhaps believed things then, which we all agree now in rejecting. For instance, they believed that the Septuagint *as a translation* was inspired, which no one allows at present. They believed in the "phœnix," which everybody now recognises as a myth. They repeated the tale that St. Joseph was a widower with four sons and two daughters—which no one now thinks it necessary to believe on that account. It is only when the Fathers agree in teaching something as a doctrine of the Christian religion, or as a fact of authentic traditional belief, that their authority enters into the question. Consequently we have to take each point by itself, and examine it on its own evidence, if

we would arrive at any conclusion as to the truth of any item contained in the apocryphal romances.

SIGNS OF FICTION.

It will be interesting to point out some of the signs which betray the unhistorical character of the stories as a whole. Besides those already touched upon, we shall mention only a few. Thus (1) Issachar is mentioned as high priest. We possess a full list of all the high priests of the period, and Issachar is not among them. (2) The high priests are spoken of as if they were regular and numerous body, whereas as a matter of fact there was only one at a time. (3) The High Priest is represented as going into the Holy of Holies to pray, and afterwards as taking the rods into the same inner sanctuary; whereas it was strictly forbidden even for the High Priest to enter the Holy of Holies except once a year, and that on the day of atonement. (4) Our Lady is represented as walking up fifteen steps which, according to the law, no woman was allowed to mount. (5) Also of having *danced* on the steps of the altar of burnt offering, which no one but the priests were allowed to ascend. In fact the whole of the Temple proceedings are as unlike the reality as could fairly be imagined. (6) SS. Joachim and Anne meet at the "Golden gate" which had no existence at the time, or was not called by that name. (7) The whole tenor of the stories would make Our Lady and St. Joseph persons of public notoriety in the nation—persons whose antecedents were well known to the authorities, and whose later career would have been followed with interest—a state of things quite at variance with the humility and obscurity of their lives as manifested in the Gospels, etc., etc.

It should also be added that many of the details bear a suspicious resemblance to certain portions of Scripture from which the writer would be tempted to draw. The

sterility of St. Anne, the reproaches of the priest, the vow to dedicate her offspring to the Lord, her delay in doing so till the child was old enough to be taken to the Temple there to remain, are noticeably parallel to the story of Anna the mother of Samuel, as related in i Kings ; while the annunciation by the angel is obviously suggested by Luke i, and the budding of Joseph's rod by the similar story in Numbers xvii ; etc. It requires an effort to resist the impression that the romancist has freely drawn from such sources—if not wholly, at least in great part.

However, our object is not to prove the fictional character of these writings, which everybody acknowledges—but to ask what details contained in them bear the marks of probability. Our interest centres on three points : (1) Mary's parents and lineage. (2) Her Presentation and alleged sojourn in the Temple. (3) Her espousals to St. Joseph.

PART II.

PARENTAGE AND BIRTH.

SS. JOACHIM AND ANNE.

The Church commemorates the parents of Mary by two separate feasts—that of St. Joachim on March 20th, and that of St. Anne on July 26th. Now it stands to reason that Our Lady had parents ; and therefore the Church could commemorate them independently of any specific knowledge even of their names. And since the earliest documents in which these names are found are the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and its fellow apocryphals, the question might occur :—whether the names "Joachim" and "Anne" are genuine, or merely adopted from these romances. Substantially no importance attaches to the question. "We need not be very anxious about the matter," say the Bollandists (March 20) "whether they are the true names, or whether they were conveniently invented on account of their meaning in Hebrew etymology :—Joachim meaning the preparation of the Lord, and Anne signifying 'grace,' as Fulbert Carnotensis says." The presumption however is that these names have been traditionally preserved in the Church ; and we can reasonably accept them on that ground.

For the rest of the story—about the sterility, the miraculous gift of fertility, etc.—the Church by its celebration cannot be said to furnish any guarantee, nor is there among the Fathers any distinct proof of the authenticity of the facts. On the one hand it might be argued that the story is just the sort of thing a romancist might be imagined to concoct, being closely in analogy with certain parts of Scripture. Thus the sterility of Anna the mother of Samuel, and that of Elizabeth

might suggest one portion of the story, and the annunciation to Our Lady might suggest another, etc. On the other hand, there ought to be no difficulty in supposing that a similar set of events might happen, miraculously or otherwise, outside the Gospels. Thus of St. Juan de Avila we read that his mother, "like Anna of old, had prayed for a child, and after many years a son was given her" and other similar cases could easily be cited.

On a kindred subject Newman writes substantially as follows :—"It is often argued that a miracle which happened once is not likely to happen again ; whereas the contrary is rather the case. If God acts once in a certain way under certain circumstances, it is more probable than not that he may act similarly again when similar circumstances arise." The conclusion is that, though nothing can be scientifically proved in favour of the apocryphal story, still nothing can be proved against it. Hence while we can hardly venture to assert the account of the sterility as an ascertained fact, still there appears no ground for positive unbelief on the point. There seems no reason why devotional writers should not make use of the narrative ; though in our opinion it would be well for them to indicate that they are dealing merely with a pious legend which *may* be true, without putting it on a level with the ascertained facts of history. One thing however is to be noted. Even according to the legend, the miraculous cure of St. Anne's sterility was not such as to make the conception itself miraculous ; that is to say, we maintain in any case that St. Joachim was the real father of Mary. There is no ground for describing the conception of Mary as virginal on the part of her mother.

As a justification of the views here expressed, we think it useful to append a few quotations from standard authors.

(1) This is what Vigouroux writes in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (sub. tit.) :—

"The name of St. Anne, mother of the holy Virgin, is not found in the canonical books. The earliest writings in which it is found are the apocryphal Gospels. It is difficult to determine what the apocryphal narratives may contain of history and what of legend. But the Church has consecrated the tradition which makes St. Joachim and St. Anne the parents of the holy Virgin; and their cult is very ancient in the Eastern Church—as we gather from St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Epiphanius (fl. about A. D. 350). There are ancient hymns in honour of the mother of Mary ; and homilies of the Fathers contain the praises of St. Anne (cf. specially St. John Damascene, fl. 750); Justinian dedicated a church in Constantinople to her name in the year 550. The Greek Church honours her together with St. Joachim on September 4th, while the Latin Church celebrates her feast on July 26th."

Again (sub. tit. Marie) he writes :—

"The parents are not known to us except by tradition. St. John Damascene uses their names, and says how in their old age they owed the birth of the child to their prayers. St. Gregory of Nyssa tells the same story, saying that he borrowed it from an apocryphal source [the Protevang. Jacobi]. This tradition was accepted by St. Germain of Constantinople," etc.

Another writer in the same work (sub. tit. Genealogie de J. C.) ascribes the name Joachim to "a respectable tradition."

(2) It will also be useful to quote the following from the Bollandists (July 26):—"From Epiphanius and Gregory of Nyssa, I gather that there existed in the first ages of the Church some history or other of the parents of Mary; but whether it has come down to us

pure I do not know. Certainly that one called the Protevangelium Jacobi is not pure—for it is marred by inept fables."—After pointing out some of these the writer concludes—"From what has been said it is clear that the sources of this history have been so corrupted that we can no longer distinguish between what is false and what is true in it."

In treating of St. Joachim (March 20th) the same authorities write as follows:—

"Although St. Peter Damian blames the curiosity of those who want to know what the writers of the gospels deemed superfluous to relate, viz., who were the parents of B. Mary—still the consentient belief of the Fathers of East and West prevents us from being too anxious in discussing whether their names are true or whether they have been formed by some suitable use of Hebrew etymology. And although the accounts of the *Nativitas Mariae* and the *Protevangelium Jacobi* are both of doubtful reliability, still since their names have been preserved by the Church's tradition this does not matter; nor is there need to suppose that everything those authors relate must be false."

The moderate reasonableness of this position recommends itself. The most judicious scholars abstain from dogmatism on one side or the other. They do not categorically assert what they cannot prove, and yet leave it entirely open to suppose that the names of Joachim and Anne may have come down through an authentic tradition, from which the apocryphal books also derived their facts, instead of supposing that the Church derived them from the apocryphal books alone.

THE LINEAGE OF MARY.

The next question is to determine what is known of the lineage of Mary. The apocryphal books are emphatic on the point. The *Protevangelium* declares that Mary was

of the family of David. The *Pseudo-Matthew* states that Joachim was of the tribe of Judah and residing in Jerusalem, and that Anne was the daughter of Achar of the same tribe and family. The *Nativitas Mariae* ascribes a Davidic origin to Mary ; adding that she was born at Nazareth but brought up in Jerusalem ; also that her father's family was from Nazareth in Galilee, but her mother's family from Bethlehem. As the occurrence of these statements in the romances has no intrinsic weight, we must inquire into their probability with the aid of other sources.

We have already intimated that Scripture itself furnishes at least a strong presumption of the truth of the main fact. If St. Joseph alone were of the line of David, Christ would possess only a *legal* title to that lineage—in the sense that he was the *reputed* son of Joseph. The sonship not being real, neither would the lineage be real—although on account of the marriage it would hold good according to the outer relations of the law. Now the Jewish belief was that the Messias should be really of the family of David. This belief is confirmed by the word of the angel at the annunciation :—"The Lord God shall give to him the throne of David his father" (Lk. i. 33). St. Paul also describes Christ as having been "born of the line of David *according to the flesh*" (Rom. i. 3). But since, according to the flesh, Chirst was not the son of St. Joseph but of Mary only—it is difficult to see how these indications of the Scripture were verified unless Mary herself were also of the family of David.

This argumentation has not always been regarded as so conclusive as to prevent two other theories from being suggested :—

(1) That Mary was of the tribe of Levi—a position precariously based on her relationship with Elizabeth.

(2) That she was of the tribe of Ephraim. This latter view was put forward in recent years under the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Westminster.

Despite these rivals, the strength of the argument is altogether in favour of the Davidic origin of Mary—in fact Edersheim says that "there can be no question that both Joseph and Mary were of the royal lineage (Life vol. i., p. 149).

But a question arises concerning the genealogical tables contained in the Gospels. As is well known, that given by St. Matthew and that furnished by St. Luke differ in several particulars. One theory is that Matthew gives the pedigree of Joseph while Luke furnishes that of Mary. In St. Luke's list the name of "Heli" appears immediately before that of Joseph; and it is suggested that Heli is to be identified with Joachim the father of Mary. The notion is more plausible than at first sight appears. Heli or Eli is an abbreviation of Eliachim; and Eliachim is only an alternative form of Joachim. JHVH and ELOHIM were two names of God which could be interchanged with the greatest facility, and thus the names Eliachim and Joachim were identical [an instance occurs in Judith xv. 9, compared with iv. 5, 7, 11.] Others suppose that Matthew gives the natural lineage while Luke provides the legal pedigree. Into this knotty question we need not enter here, as nothing can be definitely settled. Our only conclusion is that, if the apocryphal writers invented their account of the lineage of Mary, they had a strong support for it in the indirect intimations of Scripture. Besides this, there may have been an early tradition to go upon; but in any case they would naturally write according to the common idea prevailing in their own day. Hence although their statements possess no weight in themselves, we gather on other grounds that in asserting

the Davidic lineage of Mary they were most probably—some would say unquestionably—correct.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF MARY.

No one who is interested in knowing the birthplace of Homer or Shakespeare can consider it of less interest to know the birthplace of Mary. On this subject the apocryphal literature seems to be divided. The *Protevangelium Jacobi* clearly implies (without stating) that she was born at her father's house in Jerusalem. The *Pseudo-Matthew* is if anything still more clear on the point. On the other hand the *Nativitas Mariae* opens by describing Mary as "born in the city of Nazareth and brought up in Jerusalem." There exists a third account, viz., that the event took place at Sephoris in Galilee; but although the spot is mentioned by Epiphanius and described by some of the pilgrims to Palestine, this story is usually disregarded; and the rivalry lies between Nazareth and Jerusalem. The only clue to the question furnished by the Scripture stands in favour of Nazareth. In Nazareth Our Lady was found by the angel after her espousals; in Nazareth dwelt the so-called "brethren of the Lord." It was not the custom of espoused maidens to live in the house of their future husband before the marriage ceremony had taken place; and the presumption is that at the time of the espousals Mary was living in her parents' house—with the nearer relatives of the family in case (as we may suppose) her parents were dead. On this ground the probabilities lie in favour of the Nazareth theory, as expressed in the *Nativitas Mariae*.

At the same time, apart from the Scriptural suggestion outlined above, there is singularly little support for the Nazareth theory. The *Nativitas Mariae* (dating perhaps somewhere about the sixth century) stands in solitary contradiction to the rest of the apocryphal literature. From this date onwards we find a long series of

pilgrims to the Holy Land ; but only few of them mention Nazareth at all, and those who do so speak of it simply as the scene of the annunciation and hidden life, and never as the birthplace of Mary. About the eleventh century we meet with a first witness in the Monk Epiphanius.—Without mentioning the birth of Mary, he says that "It was from Nazareth that her parents started to present their daughter in the Temple at Jerusalem ; and it was only after the death of Joachim that St. Anne migrated to the Holy City to live with her daughter Mary." In the following century we find Fetellius visiting "Sephoris, two miles from Nazareth, where St. Anne was born." A few years later, John of Wurtzburg reports as a local tradition that not only Anne but Mary also was born at Sephoris—a belief which he tries to refute by appealing to the *Nativitas Mariae* with its Nazareth statement. Other writers of later time (Maundeville, Adrichomius) contrast the Nazareth theory with the claims of Jerusalem. They suggest as a compromise that Mary was *conceived* at Jerusalem and afterwards *born* at Nazareth—a solution possible in fact, but bearing too clearly the marks of convenient speculation to be of much value. There are also several papal documents, dealing with the shrine at Loreto, which say that " the B. Virgin Mary was born, brought up, and saluted by the angel in this house." But, as Lesêtre (Dict. de. la Bib. sub tit. Marie) observes :—" These popes certainly do not hereby intend to decide the historical fact, but merely to adopt the opinion current in their own time."

THE JERUSALEM TRADITION.

The Nazareth tradition is essentially a literary one ; that is to say, it originated in a written source, and was propagated by different writers drawing on that source. It is unattached to a local spot, or is attached thereto only in consequence of the idea derived from literary

sources. The Jerusalem tradition, on the contrary, is essentially topographical, attached to a spot and maintained on that spot ; so that all literary allusions point to that spot as the source whence the idea is derived. Thus if we accept the Nazareth view it is because certain authors have expressed it. If we accept the Jerusalem view it is not because of any writer's opinion, but because of local monuments preserved in the place itself.

In the north-east quarter of Jerusalem there stands an ancient shrine dedicated to St. Anne—close to the recently discovered pool of Probatica with its five porches. It is a small church, measuring about 80 feet by 50 feet, containing a nave and two aisles which terminate towards the east in a triple apse. Underneath the church are two rock-cut chambers, beyond which lie two recesses, bearing indications of having formerly been used as tombs. These chambers are traditionally regarded as the burial place of SS. Joachim and Anne ; and attached to the place is the further tradition that here Our Lady was born. This tradition is proved by a long series of testimonies afforded by pilgrims to the Holy Land. Omitting all later witnesses, we shall here cite only the earliest we possess. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in A. D. 633, had been resident in the Holy City for many years before this date. In some verses he speaks of "the Holy Probatica where the Glorious Anna gave birth to Mary." The continuity of this tradition downwards is unquestionable ; the only question is, whether it derived its origin from the times of the Apostles or not. No earlier witness than that of Sophronius has been brought to light ; and it may well be argued that a local tradition unrecorded for the first 620 years hardly compels conviction. Much stress is laid on the conservatism of oriental traditions ; but on the other hand, not enough stress is laid on the propensity of mankind (often without conscious dis-

honesty) to fix the spot on which important events are supposed to have occurred. In the obscurity of an age when the apocryphal literature was widely spread and popular, the idea of St. Anne having dwelt in Jerusalem might account for the dedication of a church to her name ; and afterwards the idea might grow up that this church actually marked the side of the house in which she lived. On the other hand these suspicions are not proof-positive ; and the most we can say is that the local belief in the site *may* have been built on an authentic tradition, and that the church dedicated to St. Anne may have been erected to mark the spot already known. Between these alternatives we have not sufficient evidence to decide. Hence in answer to the question, where was Our Lady born ? we can only say :—Possibly in Nazareth ; possibly in Jerusalem ; but as far as certainty is concerned, we do not know.

PART III.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

The idea of "Presentation in the Temple" is most familiar to us from the presentation of Our Lord, which St. Luke describes as follows :—"And after the days of her (Mary's) purification according to the Law of Moses were accomplished, they carried him (Jesus) to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord—as it is written in the law of the Lord :—'Every male opening the womb shall be called Holy to the Lord,'—and to offer a sacrifice, according as it is written in the law of the Lord—a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons." And when we pass from February 2nd, on which the presentation of Our Lord is celebrated, to the 21st of November on which the presentation of Our Lady is commemorated—the question soon arises :—What likenesses, and what differences would there be between the two? In order to answer this question we must begin by examining the presentation of Our Lord in the light of history and Jewish law.

The first thing to be remarked is that in the account by St. Luke two functions are mentioned :—the purification of the mother, and the presentation of the child. These two functions are entirely distinct and must be treated apart.

THE LAW OF PURIFICATION.

This Law had for its object the ceremonial purification of the mother. If the child was a male, the circumcision took place after seven days, and the purification of the mother thirty-three days later; making a total of 40 days. In case of a daughter this period was doubled (Lev. xii.) The ceremony consisted in the offering of a lamb and a dove, or (in case of poverty) two turtle doves. The function was performed in the

temple, but it was not necessary that the mother should be present—as indeed would be impossible for all except those who happened to live in or near Jerusalem. Nor need the sacrifice be performed immediately on the expiry of the term. In the case of Christ we find that Mary went to the temple in person—the poorer gift of turtle doves being offered. This event is celebrated on February 2nd, which is exactly forty days [7 plus 33] after the feast of Christmas. Even where the mother was present, she took no part in the function. The offerings for the doves were put into a box, and at a certain fixed time the money was taken out, and the corresponding number of victims offered for that intention—the blood being sprinkled (not on the mother but) round the altar, while a rubrical prayer was said. Such at least is the rabbinical account of the function (Edersheim, Life, p. 196). Any picture which represents the mother as being publicly singled out during the ceremony is in all probability incorrect.

PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST BORN.

The presentation of offspring was a totally different function, based on a different motive. The law applied only to first-born *sons*, and there was no such thing as a legal presentation of daughters. The law is stated in Exodus xiii :—"Sanctify to me every first-born [male] that openeth the womb." Though this rite is in one place connected with the protection of the first-born of Israel when the first-born of the Egyptians were slain, it is thought that the origin of the law lay in the fact that, in patriarchal times, the first-born son inherited the priestly office of the family. At a later date God set apart the tribe of Levi for the sacerdotal office (Numb. viii. 16) and thus the first-born of the other tribes were released from this duty. Still in commemoration of the past custom, the ceremony was instituted of presenting all first-born males to the

Lord and then redeeming them back at a price, which was fixed at five shekels of silver (Numb. xviii. 16). A month after the birth was the time fixed for the carrying out of this obligation, but it could be postponed till the same time as the purification of the mother. This was actually done by Our Lady, as we read in Luke ii. :—"And after the days of her purification.....they carried him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord—and to offer in sacrifice a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons." Note here that the doves were for the purification of the mother, not for the presentation of the child. The ceremony of presentation consisted in a formal handing over of the child to the priest, and the recital of two short prayers; then the price of redemption was paid over, and the child was restored to those who brought it. There was no sacrifice attached to the function.

THE PRESENTATION OF OUR LADY.

With these two functions clearly distinguished, we can now face the question:—What would happen in the case of St. Anne and her daughter Mary? As regards the purification of the mother the law is clear. Having given birth to a daughter, the date for the legal purification would occur eighty days after the birth, and the function would be the same as that just described. The other ceremony, viz, the presentaion of the child, is not so simple. As we have seen, there was no law requiring the presentation of daughters; nor was there even any optional function for such a presentation in the levitical law. There existed, however, a law concerning vows which may be brought in for the purpose of explaining the presentation of Our Lady. It was enacted that any one who had vowed a thing to the Lord could, if the nature of the case required it, fulfil the vow by a money payment in place of the thing vowed. This was called "redemption at a price"

(Lev. xxvii). Thus, a man who had vowed his house could retain it on payment of one-fifth over its real value; and so of other objects. The legal tariff was arranged for each kind of object. For example, if a child under five years had been vowed to the Lord, the price of the redemption was fixed at three shekels (Smith, Dict. Bib. sub tit. vow).

Now the apocryphal gospels relate that St. Anne did make a vow of dedicating her hoped-for child to the Lord; and this, being in consonance with well-known Jewish usage, is probable enough. Moreover, the Church, by her liturgical tradition, vouches for some presentation of Our Lady having taken place—without however offering any official explanation as to what this presentation means. In the light of Jewish usage we can at the outset conclude that the presentation involved this much at the very least—viz., the bringing of the child to the temple in fulfilment of a vow, and buying it back at a price.

We shall therefore be safe in picturing the presentation of Mary in the temple in analogy with the presentation of the first-born males, as before described. This much is certain; that whatever the actual ceremonies of the presentation of Our Lady might consist in, the details offered by the apocryphal romances must be rejected. No priest could possibly have "set her down on the third step of the altar." Mary certainly would not "dance" there and so excite "the love of all Israel." She would certainly not have been allowed to "walk up the fifteen steps," which Josephus tells us no woman was allowed to ascend, etc.

DEDICATION TO GOD.

But there is no need to reduce the event to this minimum. We may reasonably believe that the dedication of Mary to the Lord was not a thing which would be disposed of by a mere money payment. We may

reasonably expect that the parents of Mary would carry out this dedication to some further effect. We can readily suppose that their intention was to bring up the child from its earliest years in the best and holiest way which was afforded to them by the usages of their own people.

The only question therefore is to decide what means existed among the Jews for the special dedication of young people to God. The priesthood was in the hands of the family of Aaron, so that there existed among the Jews nothing analogous to what we understand as "a vocation to the priesthood." The inferior ministrations connected with the Temple were assigned to the tribe of Levi. There existed a certain class of men called Nazarites, who were in essential idea what in India we understand by Jogis or Saniassis. The idea of religious orders was represented by the Essenes. The question is, whether there existed anything analogous to religious orders of nuns? There is one somewhat precarious indication of the kind. We read in Exodus xxxviii. 8, that "Moses made a laver of brass out of the mirrors of the women who watched at the door of the tabernacle." Opinion is divided as to the meaning of this passage. According to St. Cyril of Alexandria, it marks the survival of an Egyptian usage, pagan but harmless in itself. It was the custom, he writes, for the [pagan] women of Egypt to go to their Temples clad in white, holding a mirror in the left and a sort of metallic war-rattle in the right hand, being initiated into a certain privileged office (Hummelauer in Exod., p. 345.)

This custom was taken up by the Israelites before Moses, and was apparently tolerated by him—though the taking of their mirrors does not seem very encouraging—and survived till the time of Samuel (i King ii. 22) when we read that the sons of Eli "corrupted the women who waited at the doors of the Tabernacle,"

After this we hear nothing about these women in the Old Testament. But in the New Testament we find one solitary reference which may be quoted in this connection. After the presentation of Our Lord we read of "Anna the prophetess, who departed not from the Temple, by fasting and prayers serving day and night." (Lk. ii. 36). She was a widow who had remained without a husband, after her short seven years' marriage, till her eighty-fourth year, in order to devote herself to prayer and devout exercises. The evidence is not quite conclusive enough to connect her with anything like a definite order of the "devout feminine sex," with a special vocation or a special ministry; but at least it suggests a connection with "the women who waited at the door of the Tabernacle" in an earlier time. It is the opinion of some writers that there did exist some recognised order of women who placed themselves under a vow of devoting their lives to some special connection with the Temple worship (cf. Hummelauer in loca). In the opinion of Weiss (Biblical Archeology, vol. ii., p. 441) this service would consist, not in any active help in the sanctuary, but simply in the practice of devout exercises—such as watching, fasting and praying at the entrance of the Sanctuary, and coming every day to hear instructions, being bound thereto by their profession. No doubt too (the same author adds) they wrought for the Tabernacle or Temple at home—spinning and weaving all sorts of materials which they brought as gifts (Exod. xxxv. 25 and Philo. De Migr. Abrahae). Though all the indications of this order we meet with show that its members were grown-up women, it is conjecturally possible that a child could be in some way dedicated by her parents to this kind of life, or at least brought up to join with these women in their religious attendances during its tenderer years. Here, then, we find a suggestion, precarious indeed but plausi-

ble explaining in what way Our Lady might have been dedicated to God.

But if we try to obtain further particulars of this order of women and their way of life, we fail to find anything to prove that they constituted a community residing in a convent or quasi-convent apart—especially within the precincts of the Temple. All authorities are agreed in this. Thus Weiss quoting Lundius says:—"Nowhere do we read that they had any duties assigned to them in the sanctuary, or that they had rooms and apartments to live in beside the Tabernacle or the Temple" (Bible. Arch., p. 441 note). Edersheim similarly, speaking of Anna, says:—"It is scarcely necessary to discuss the curious suggestion that Anna actually lived in the Temple. No one, least of all a woman, permanently resided in the Temple—though the high-priest had chambers there" (Life of Christ, note on page 200). And among Catholic writers, A. Lapide remarks:—"Not that she dwelt in the Temple, but that she frequented it and remained a long time in it." Natalis Alexander observes:—"The statement about cells round the Temple, in which virgins were enclosed, is rejected by men of learning" (Hist. Eccl. vol. I., cap. 1). Similarly Lesêtre in the new Dict. de la Bible (sub tit. Marie). Moreover we possess in Josephus a very detailed description of the Temple with all its buildings and chambers and their uses; and nowhere is there the least indication of the existence of such a residential institution for women. The natural conclusion therefore is, that this order of women, though binding their lives to long and frequent attendance at the Temple services, nevertheless resided in their own homes. In this I think all competent authorities agree.

SUMMARY SO FAR.

Returning to the case of Our Lady, let us see how far we have got. (1) We can explain the presentation in the

Temple by assuming what the apocryphals narrate, viz., that St. Anne had made a vow to dedicate her child to the Lord, and that at some time or other (the apocryphals say at the age of three) the child was presented in the Temple and redeemed at a price.

(2) There is no need to suppose that the vow stopped here; and we can reasonably suppose St. Anne carried it out by special care in the religious education of her child.

(3) This religious education might in part take the form of causing Our Lady to join the ranks of the order of women who watched at the door of the Temple under professional vow, spending much time in attendance at the services and in prayer, and even doing work such as weaving and embroidery for the use of the Temple.

(4) As far as we can learn, this order of women did not reside in the Temple but at their own homes.

The only question remaining is whether we must conclude that Our Lady also resided in her own home. The apocryphal narratives certainly maintain the contrary. They say that when Our Lady was presented in the Temple, she was there and then initiated into some kind of residential establishment in the Temple, more or less conventual in character, where she was brought up from her third year till the time for marriage. The apocryphals suppose the existence of such an establishment—not for grown up women but for young children in their tenderer years. Such an establishment of course could not be identified with the supposed (but non-existent) convent for the order of watchers at the doors of the Tabernacle. The apocryphals are clear on this head. Consequently our rejection of the one establishment would not necessarily involve the rejection of the other. The question therefore to determine is this:—Did there, or did there not exist among the Jews a public institution of quasi-conventual character, into

which young girls were received in their early years, there to be trained under the care of the priests till they reached the marriageable age; upon which their term was at an end, and they were placed under the care of husbands who had been found for them.

This is the question which shall next engage our attention.

PART IV.

THE EARLY EDUCATION OF MARY.

THE precise question in which we are now engaged is this:—Did Our Lady pass the early years of her life (say from three to twelve or fourteen) in her parents' home, or in some public institution of a conventual or quasi-conventual kind; either in the Temple—as the apocryphals state—or apart from it? Seeing that the apocryphals possess no authority in themselves, and also that the Church does not pronounce anything on the subject, we are left to collect such evidence as we can towards settling the question.

We have tried the order of "women who watched at the door of the Tabernacle," and found no signs of any residential establishment connected with them. But had we found it, this would not be what we are looking for, viz., an educational establishment for young girls in their tender years. We next turn to the literature of Jewish education for traces of such an institution; but all investigation ends in failure. Weiss tells us that "the mothers looked to the training of the children in their earliest years, and the daughters no doubt remained till the time of their marriage chiefly under the mothers' oversight and guidance; while the boys as they grew up were trained by the father, or (in well-to-do families) were given over to special tutors, etc. Schools, even for boys (he says) were not set up till a comparatively late time, and then only in the larger cities (Bib. Arch. Vol.II., p. 176). He makes no mention of extra-domestic education for girls. Among Catholic writers a standard authority is Mangenot (in the Dict. de la Bib. sub tit. Education) who asserts that:—"Among the Hebrews the education of infants was exclusively carried on in the family and was the chief duty of the

parents." In the course of a long and exhaustive article he makes no mention of any extra-domestic training for girls. He merely says that "the young girls were employed by the mother in domestic affairs, and generally lived in great retirement" (ib). Another writer in the same work, dealing specially with Our Lady, confirms this by saying that "no part of the Jewish literature mentions a custom of bringing up young girls in the Temple ; and that Josephus, who describes in detail the parts of the sacred edifice, mentions none of them as destined to receive young girls." He adds that "there is nothing to authorise us in asserting that such places existed." [Lesêtre. Dict. de la Bib. sub tit. Marie.]

PASSAGES ALLEGED.

In spite of this verdict, which is general among scholars, certain passages in Scripture are sometimes quoted as indicating the existence of some such custom. But they all fail on examination to support the theory. The references to the women who watched at the door of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxviii. 8, and i. Kings ii 22) as well as the instance of Anna the prophetess (Lk. ii. 36) are met by the twofold answer already given :—(1) that there is no proof of these women residing in community, either inside or outside the Temple ; and (2) even if they did, this would not prove the existence of an institution for the training of young girls. The instance of Samuel living in the Tabernacle from childhood (i. Kings iii. 3) is still less to the point ; for Samuel was a boy and not a girl ; and besides, this was the special case of one under training to be a great prophet, (Jos. Antiq. v. x. 1). Then again we read in iv. Kings xi. 2, and ii. Par. xxii. 11 : that "Josaba, daughter of King Joram and wife of Joiada the high-priest, hid a young king with his nurse for six years in the house of the Lord." But the case of a wife of the high-priest doing this for political reasons—especially at a time

when the people were addicted to idolatry, and when the Temple was used as a storehouse for armour and for secular purposes (iv. Kings xi. 7 seq.) besides being partly deserted and in ruins (ib. xii. 5) certainly affords no support for the existence of a residential training school for young girls in the Temple.

One other passage is quoted from ii. Maccabees iii. 19. There we are told that when Heliodorus was going to rob the Temple treasury, "the people came flocking out of their houses, and the women came together in the street; the virgins also that were shut up came forth—some to Onias [so the Vulgate only], some to the gates [Greek text] and some to the walls; while others looked out of the windows." On this passage however Natalis Alexander writes:—"The statement of Baronius, about cells round the Temple, in which virgins were enclosed, is rejected by men of learning. He therefore vainly attempts to prove it from ii. Macc. For the writer there speaks of the girls of the whole city—those of the better class, who were educated in their parents' homes and in the more retired parts of the house, and were not allowed to wander abroad. Observe too that in the Greek text there is no allusion to Onias, nor even in the Latin is the Temple mentioned—this last being a gratuitous addition" etc. (Hist Eccl. Vol. I., cap. I). Lesêtre similarly remarks:—"There is no reason to suppose that these young girls resided in the Temple."

FAILURE OF EVIDENCE.

The result therefore is an entire failure to find support for the theory of establishments—whether inside the Temple or, for that matter, outside it—for the training up of young girls in community under the charge of the priests. Not only do we find no evidence for it, but the negative argument from silence seems to become positive when we consider the impro-

bability of so distinctive an institution escaping all mention except in one document of early Christian origin—and that a document which is universally recognised as a romance.

How then are we to understand the education of Mary? The most judicious line to take seems to be that of St. Ambrose who, in sketching the life of Our Lady, expressly supposes that Mary lived with her parents (De Virg. ii.) Lesêtre observes :—"The house of St. Anne was only a short distance from the Temple; hence nothing would be easier than for the young child to be taken, and afterwards to go by herself, to the House of the Lord for prayer—as the prophetess Anna did during the same period." In other words, if we wish to say that Our Lady "departed not from the Temple, serving God day and night," we can do so in the same sense as the Evangelist does of Anna, who kept up a continual life of devotion without residing in community, either inside or outside the Temple itself.

Our readers however will be anxious to ascertain whether the rejection of the Temple residence is in any way discouraged by the authority of the Church. To set this question entirely at rest, and to place the whole question on a firm footing of authority, we cite the following passages from weighty authors who are specialists in the subject :—

We begin with Benedict XIV, who in his Treatise De Festis B. V. M. is synopsized by the Azevedo as follows: —

"If we are to believe what is commonly related by such authors as Suarius and Canisius, Our Lady was presented in the Temple at the age of three, where she was fed by angels ; and there she remained till her time for marriage. There is a fragment of Evodius cited by Necephorus which says that at 'the age of three she was presented in the Temple,' etc., etc. St. Gregory of Nyssa, John Damascene and others quoted by Baron-

ius subscribe to the view of Evodius. But in our days the fragment of Evodius is rejected as spurious by learned men, and the other authorities are not ancient; so that Natalis Alexander and others deny that credence should be given to a story about which the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers hand down nothing. Again it is to be noted that Pope Pius V. gave orders to remove from the Office the prayer which mentioned the age of three years, and caused that which we now use to be inserted instead. In order therefore to distinguish certainties from uncertainties, we say that we must firmly believe Our Lady to have been presented in the Temple; but as regards the age at which this happened, or that she was taken into the Temple itself and there educated—nothing about these things has been adopted by the Latin Church, or is proved either by Scripture or tradition or by trustworthy ancient documents—therefore about these circumstances it is not for us either to affirm nor deny anything."

Since the time of Benedict XIV, the study of Jewish literature has advanced; so that it seems hardly possible any longer to take the purely negative attitude of affirming nothing and denying nothing. Thus Lêsetre, though extremely cautious in his statements, clearly implies a positive verdict against the idea of the Temple residence. After recounting the story of the apocryphals, he writes as follows:—"The legend is adopted by St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Germain of Constantinople in their sermons, etc. As a matter of fact it was only first-born males who had to be presented in the Temple. Still it is not astonishing that the parents of Mary, especially if they dwelt in Jerusalem, should have had the pious idea of presenting their child, to thank God for the answer to their prolonged prayers—if we may believe the apocryphals...The education of Mary in the Temple, as affirmed by the apocryphals, is *problem-*

atical enough. In no part of Jewish literature is there mention of a custom of dedicating young girls in the Temple ... Did there exist chambers or other places about the Temple for receiving young girls, and for bringing them up? There is nothing to authorise us in saying so. St. Ambrose in sketching the life of Our Lady expressly assumes that she lived with her parents before the annunciation. The house of St. Anne was a short distance from the Temple, and nothing would be easier than to lead the child thither, or for her afterwards to go by herself, to the house of the Lord to pray." Later he writes:—"There was a church built by Justinian on the esplanade of the Temple in honour of Our Lady, which afterwards acquired the name of the Presentation, because they wished to localise on this spot the residence of Mary in the Temple. It is now called El Aksa. The Presentation of Our Lady (he concludes) is mentioned officially for the first time in 1166. It was brought over from the East in 1371. Sixtus IV introduced the Office a century later; and Sixtus V extended it to the whole Church in 1585. The liturgy officially guarantees only the fact of the Presentation, ignoring all the details recounted in the apocryphals" (Dict. de la Bib. sub tit. Marie).

These authorities will make it clear, in the first place, that no one ought to assume the residence of Our Lady in the Temple as a fact, even though they abstain from going so far as to deny it as utterly disproved. In reality, most serious writers either pass the matter over altogether, or mention it dubiously under the phrase, "There is an ancient tradition," etc. The story is a pretty one, we must confess; but to us it seems more profitable to lay it aside and to try and conceive the early years of Our Lady in a manner more consonant with the evidence we possess. Thus we can picture the devotion with which the parents of Our Lady took care

of her bringing-up in the domestic circle, sheltered from all harm, in an atmosphere of holiness which no cloister could rival. We can imagine how assiduously they would frequent the house of God, taking Mary with them, and impressing on her the idea that she was a child of promise, and that her life was to be devoted entirely to God. Nothing can surpass this picture for edification; and, seeing that it satisfies all orthodox requirements of the feast of the Presentation, we can well afford to forget the story of the Temple cloister, and to fix our attention on the still holier cloister of an ideal home.

THE ESPOUSALS OF MARY.

There will now be no difficulty in disposing of the apocryphal account of the espousals of Mary. The story in itself is so obviously improbable in all its details as to call for no refutation. The council of the high priests, the calling together of the marriageable men of Israel, the placing of the rods in the Holy of Holies, the dove and the blossoming rod—these we have no scruple in recognising as incidents entirely out of harmony with Jewish usage, and with what we know from reliable sources about Our Lady. The most plausible conjecture we can make, instead of these romancings, is more or less as follow:—Our Lady continued to live—perhaps at Jerusalem—with her parents till both were dead. Then she went to live at Nazareth, where she was presently espoused to St. Joseph. At the espousals she might have been of any age over twelve—possibly fourteen or sixteen. At the time of her espousals she would be living, we may suppose, with her relations—possibly with a married sister whose children—James and Joses and Simon and Jude and their sisters—in the Gospels are called the *adelphoi* and *adelphai kuriou*. The apocryphals are unanimous in describing these children as the offspring of Joseph by

an earlier marriage; and quite a long list of Fathers can be cited who followed this view:—Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrosiaster, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophilact, etc. There need be no hesitation in rejecting this story, because it is founded purely on the apocryphals, and has secured no permanent acceptance among Catholics. We can take these *adelphoi* and *adelphai* in the sense of cousins to Jesus, and nephews and nieces of Mary—the same word being frequently used in Scripture in this sense.

Edersheim tells us that espousals were effected by handing over to the woman, directly or through messengers, a small piece of money or else a letter—it being expressly stated before witnesses that the intention is to effect espousals. After the espousals the woman remained in the house of her parents and only saw her affianced rarely, and in the presence of witnesses— the usual mode of communication being through messengers or intermediaries. The espousal was as strictly binding as marriage itself, and could only be dissolved by a legal process of divorce. The marriage ceremony was performed within a certain limit of time fixed by law. The function consisted in leading the bride to the house of the bridegroom with certain formalities. No priestly ministration was required ; and the pictures which show the espousals as taking place in the Temple before the altar, are influenced by Christian associations. Residents in India will have a fair idea of the Jewish marriage ceremonies by what they witness every day in Indian towns (cf. Edersheim, Jewish Social Life, p. 148-150.) The idea that St. Joseph was an old man is probably false, and is generally rejected. It is derived from the apocryphals, which gratuitously make him out to be an aged widower with several children.

MARY'S VOW OF VIRGINITY.

One concluding word about the Catholic belief that Our Lady before the annunciation had made a vow of virginity. The fact is, as we have already said, clearly intimated in Luke ii. Benedict XIV. (Festum Desponsationis) says : "There is no doubt that Our Lady made such a vow, otherwise her reply to the angel is inexplicable. The general opinion is that she made it at an earlier age in a *conditional* manner—should it be according to God's will ; and that later (at least after an understanding with St. Joseph) she made it absolutely. As to the exact time of making this vow in the first instance, the apocryphals place it at the Presentation in Mary's third year, at beginning of her residence in the Temple." On this Lesêtre remarks :—" It is possible that such a thing should have happened, if we suppose her intelligence to have been developed by grace in an extraordinary manner. Still, nothing precise can be affirmed in this matter ; and the argument *a priori* on which the idea is based (he says) is one, the application of which has to be determined by the teaching and practice of the Church. Now in the liturgy the Church admits the Presentation, but preserves silence as to the age at which Mary accomplished this act and made her vow ; as also about the natural and supernatural gifts with which she was endowed." (Dict. de la Bib. Marie p. 789).

PART V.

THE ANNUNCIATION.

The present section will treat of the events of Our Lady's life connected with the annunciation. As far as absolutely authentic knowledge is concerned, the data of this period are found in two passages of the Gospels which, if taken together, form a sequence. In Luke i. 26—56 we have the account of the annunciation at Nazareth and the visit paid by Mary to Elizabeth. In Matthew i. 18—25 the thread of events is taken up by recording the doubts of St. Joseph, their solution, and his subsequent marriage with Mary. The question now is, what light can be thrown upon the events thus recorded from other sources—chiefly those of a traditional, legendary, topographical, or archeological kind?

ESPOUSAL AND MARRIAGE.

According to all we know about Jewish customs, the lowest age limit for marriage was for the boy thirteen and for the girl twelve years; although the marriage was usually put off till about the age of eighteen. The process observed differed considerably from that to which Europeans are accustomed, and approximated much more nearly to the usage prevalent in India. In Europe, espousal or "engagement" means merely a promise of marriage, which is binding in honour and justice, but does not contain any actual element of marriage. Amongst the Jews, on the contrary, betrothal or espousal was in substance the marriage itself. The espousal was contracted in a formal manner by a friend or legal representative on behalf of the bride-

groom, and by the parent on behalf of the bride. It was confirmed by oath, and accompanied with presents to the bride. Between the betrothal and the marriage-ceremony a certain time elapsed—generally a whole year. During this time the bride-elect lived with her friends or parents, and all communication between herself and her espoused husband was carried on, not personally, but through the services of a friend deputed for the purpose, and called the "friend of the bridegroom." If personal interviews ever took place, they were always in the presence of witnesses. Although thus kept separate she was regarded as virtually a wife ; for it was a maxim of the Jewish law that betrothal was of the same force as marriage. Hence unfaithfulness on her part was regarded as adultery--punishable by death if the husband cared to appeal to the criminal law, or at least by divorce in case he preferred a more lenient course.

At the expiry of a suitable period (normally a year) the marriage-ceremony took place. It consisted, however, in merely claiming the wife, and bringing her from the house of her parents or friends into the house of the husband. Except for this reception into the unity of the new home, marriage added nothing to espousals ; and although a few forms of benediction were pronounced by the bride's father, no religious ceremony was involved—nor were any priestly ministrations employed. The procession to the bride's house by torch-light, the procession thence to the house of the bridegroom, the convivial feast, and finally the ceremonial leading of the bride into the marriage-chamber, completed the whole function.

CONTRAST WITH THE APOCRYPHALS.

We have only to turn to the apocryphal Gospels in order to perceive how the account given by them differs

in almost all particulars from the foregoing description, and betrays a writer ignorant of Jewish customs and drawing on his imagination. No proper separation is made between espousals and marriage, nor is their respective meaning understood. The marriage is arranged by the priests instead of the parents or relations. The marriage-ceremony itself is apparently conducted by the priests in the temple; and when it is over, Joseph takes Mary at once to his own home—leaving her there while he goes away to carry on his work. The *Pseudo-Matthew* adds that Joseph took with him five other virgins as companions for Mary during his absence. The *History of Joseph the Carpenter* says that the priests told Mary to go with Joseph to his house until the time of their marriage, which took place only after a space of two years. Thus there is a total want of correspondence, both negative and positive, between the apocryphal account and all that we know of Jewish customs regarding espousal and marriage.

GOSPEL INTERPRETED BY CUSTOMS.

Therefore leaving aside the apocryphals as utterly worthless, let us see what would follow from taking the Gospels in the light of Jewish custom, assuming that the ordinary usages were observed throughout. At the time of the annunciation, Mary was already espoused to Joseph [say January 23rd]* and therefore substantially his wife (Lk. i. 27. Cf. Mt. i. 18 seq.) Thus the Scripture correctly calls Mary "his wife" and Joseph "her husband." But Joseph had not as yet "taken her" (Mt. i, 18, 20, 25); that is to say, had not yet conducted her to his home by the marriage-ceremony. Hence at this time [say March 25th] Mary would be living apart from St. Joseph "in her own

* These liturgical dates are adopted merely for convenience, and as *relatively* probable, though not necessarily correct.

house" (Lk. i. 56), amongst her friends or relations*; and communications with her husband would, according to custom, be carried on by intermediaries only. At the time of the annunciation, Elizabeth, who resided in Judæa, (possibly at the traditional Ain Karim near Jerusalem, although others think near Hebron), was in her "sixth month." Mary, knowing this, and desirous of confiding to her cousin the mystery which was being wrought in her, went at once to visit Elizabeth, presumably remaining there till after the birth of St. John the Baptist [say June 24th]; after which "she returned to her own house" (Lk. i. 56). Soon the effects of the heavenly visitation would become apparent (Mt. i. 18) to any one immediately around her; "to the members of her family" observes St. Bruno (Maas in loc). The fact would soon become known to St. Joseph; but apparently Mary was not approached on the subject, either by her relations or by St. Joseph himself. On account of the importance of the matter, St. Joseph may have contemplated breaking through the usual etiquette of separation, for the sake of demanding an explanation; but meantime he had not done so. Not knowing the supernatural cause at work, he was puzzled in mind; and being a "just" man [that is to say in Jewish terminology "a strict observer of the Law"] he scrupulously debated within himself what ought to be done. To institute a criminal inquiry was not of obligation, and never occurred to him. But

* It is of course mere guesswork to say who these supposed relations might be. The parents of Mary are never mentioned in the Gospels, and the apocryphals would imply that they were both dead. The following suggestion seems plausible:—(1) The parents of Mary had their home in Jerusalem (see previous sections), but had some relations living at Nazareth. (2) These relations must have included a married member of the family (uncle or aunt or else brother or sister to Mary). They were probably the parents of the so-called "brethren" and "sisters" of the Lord—generally understood to be his cousins.

it was great a question whether a "strict observer of the Law" ought not at least to "put her away privately"—not necessarily to give her a legal bill of divorce, but at least to break off the engagement by a private and informal process. The majority of the commentators hold the above view; viz. that the fact was known to St. Joseph while its cause was altogether concealed from him (cf. Maas in loc). While thus anxiously debating the proper course to pursue, he received from heaven a full solution of his doubts by an explanation of the supernatural cause of the event (Mt. i. 20). He therefore "feared not to take to him Mary his wife." Hence the time for the marriage-ceremony was fixed at an early date, and conducted, we may presume, as privately as possible. Thus Mary was led from "her own house" to that of St. Joseph to become his fully-married wife. No doubt the divine explanation of the mystery would be privately imparted to the few (if any)* who may have been conversant with the facts;

*The devout mind shrinks from believing that "any stain ever rested on the fair reputation of Mary" in this matter. Hence the tendency to assume that it was known to St. Joseph only. On the other hand, unless Mary was absolutely secluded from observation like Danae in her brazen tower, certainly those in the family circle must have observed what St. Joseph observed. If known to the family circle, it would not cause the same difficulty to them as it did to St. Joseph; and this for the following reason:—Since among the Jews betrothal was equivalent to matrimony, the use of marriage between the espoused pair was not contrary to the law, nor yet contrary to morals, but against custom only. Hence if any of the household observed the affair, they need not thereby suppose a breach of conjugal fidelity, but only an anticipated use of matrimony between the espoused—which would not strictly be scandalous. When afterwards the cause was revealed to St. Joseph and by him communicated to the relations, even this light difficulty regarding custom would be removed. The reticence of the family, the immediate marriage, the privacy of Mary, the absence at Bethlehem and in Egypt would prevent anything from transpiring to the outside public. This view, though not the most common one, is supported by several Catholic writers (enumerated by Maas in loc) and Le Camus seems also tacitly to suppose it. Its truth cannot be demonstrated, and it cannot be forced on those who dislike it. It is however useful to know, and cannot be ignored in view of modern difficulties.

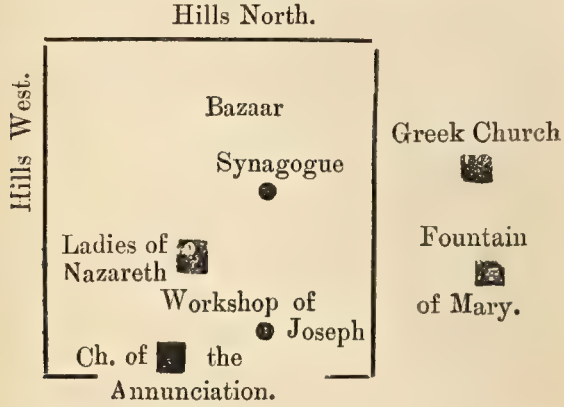
nor is there any reason for supposing that the matter transpired beyond the family circle, seeing that no rumour of that or like kind is indicated in the Gospels—in fact, in the popular estimation Jesus was always regarded as "the son of Joseph." The marriage-ceremony might have taken place, let us say in the month of July, August or September, though no commemoration of it is contained in the calendar. Towards the close of the year, the edict of Augustus required the presence of Joseph in Bethlehem, where he arrived shortly before Christmas, accompanied by Mary his wife; and there, as predestined through the prophets, Christ was born (say December 25th).

Such are the results of taking the Gospel in the light of normal Jewish usage. It is true that many commentators and popular writers have conceived the matter differently. But as there is no definitely authenticated tradition bearing on the case, several modern scholars have thought it best to make use of Jewish custom in the way just described, and have succeeded in producing an explanation which certainly seems to fit in with and explain all the known facts (cf. Lesêtre in Dict. Bib. Mariage; Maas in Matt.; Le Camus, Life of Christ, vol. 1. p. 150-180). Where the popular idea diverges in any way from this theory it seems capable of explanation, partly by the influence of the apocryphals, and partly by a want of familiarity with Jewish usage. At the same time even Jewish usage is not invariable, or infallible; and special circumstances may have altered the case in various points. Hence the foregoing view cannot claim to be to rest on anything like a demonstration, though it may seem the best grounded and most probable.

TOPOGRAPHY OF NAZARETH.

A visitor to Nazareth at the present day will be shown several sites of sacred interest. One is the synagogue in which Christ preached his famous sermon; another

is the brow of the mountain in which the city was built, and from which the infuriated Nazarenes sought to throw him down. A third is a public fountain in the eastern outskirts of the town, near to which a Greek church stands. According to the apocryphals, the angel first accosted Mary with the words "Hail, full of Grace" while she was drawing water at the fountain, and delivered the rest of his message after she had returned home. The Greeks claim to find the scene of this legend at this public fountain ; but the whole story is of dubious value, contradictory to the obvious impression conveyed by the Gospels (Lk. i 28), and therefore hardly worthy of attention. The chief object of interest is, however, the Church of the Annunciation situated in the southern part of the town. It claims to cover the site of the house where the annunciation occurred, and also a cavern said to have been used as part of the same house.



PLAN OF NAZARETH.

The leading local tradition therefore claims to discover here the place where Our Lady was living during

the period of her espousals. But around this nucleus certain accretions have clustered. The same spot has sometimes been regarded as the place where Mary herself was born; an idea supported by one of the apocryphals, but strongly rivalled by another tradition which places her birth at Jerusalem (see above, p. 17 seq.). It has also been regarded as the residence of the Holy Family, and the scene of the hidden life. Now as we have already shewn, Jewish custom would suggest that the house of the annunciation and the house of the Holy Family would be two separate establishments; the one being Mary's parental home, the other the home of St. Joseph. However it would also be quite possible that Mary, being heiress of the property, would on her marriage make it over to her husband, to be used as their joint residence after the marriage-function. If this conjecture were true, it would give support to the view which combines the scene of the incarnation with that of the hidden life. There is however one piece of positive testimony against it. Arculf, the only early pilgrim who speaks definitely about Nazareth, visited in A. D. 670 two large churches—one called the Church of the Annunciation, the other in the midst of the town called the Nutriculum Domini, marking the place where Our Lord was brought up. The question arises, where is this *Nutriculum Domini* to be found? It cannot be identified with what is called "the workshop of St. Joseph" a few hundred yards away; for this tradition is of quite recent origin. Arculf tells us that it was a large church in the midst of the town, supported by two arches with tombs underneath, and a very clear spring from which the people drew water. The "spring" suggests the Greek church which stands near the only fountain the town possesses. But being quite outside the town, this cannot well be identified with Arculf's

building which was in the midst of it. Some believe that the arches and cisterns under the present convent of the Ladies of Nazareth may mark the spot so long lost sight of. They are certainly in the midst of the town, but show no sign of a spring. Possibly Arculf or his recorder may have mixed up details a little. Hence the only definite point he provides us with is the fact that in his time the place of the annunciation and the place of the hidden life were shown as two distinct spots and not one—thus bearing out the conclusion from Jewish custom previously described. The mention of two separate places occurs once again in the 12th century; but since then the tradition of a separate "Nutriculum Domini" has been entirely lost, as well as the site to which it was attached.

PART VI.

THE HOUSE OF NAZARETH.

Turning, therefore, to the traditional scene of the annunciation, it will be of interest to collect together the historical evidence bearing on it. We know that the whole family, including Mary and the "brethren," soon left Nazareth and migrated to Capernaum. And after Christ's sermon in the synagogue and the uproar which followed it, is there nothing to indicate that Nazareth was ever visited either again by Him or his followers. Nor is there any sign of a Christian colony having been established there either by the apostles or their successors. On the contrary, after the fall of Jerusalem, Nazareth became a strong Jewish centre, from which all other sects and races were rigorously excluded—so much so that down to Constantine's time (says Epiphanius, a native of Palestine) no Christian church was built there, nor did any Christian dwell among them. It was only in A. D. 329 that Count Joseph, a converted Jew, received orders from Constantine to establish churches in Galilee. It was just at this time that Constantine himself (or St. Helena his mother, according to some) made a similar movement in Judea by the building of three churches,—one at Bethlehem for the nativity; one over Calvary and the tomb in Jerusalem, and one on Olivet at the scene of the ascension. Necephorus Calixtus adds that St. Helena went down to Nazareth where she found the house of the angelic salutation, and built there a beautiful church. But unfortunately Necephorus is a late 15th century writer, and cannot be relied upon in this matter. Certain it is, however, that some church or other was

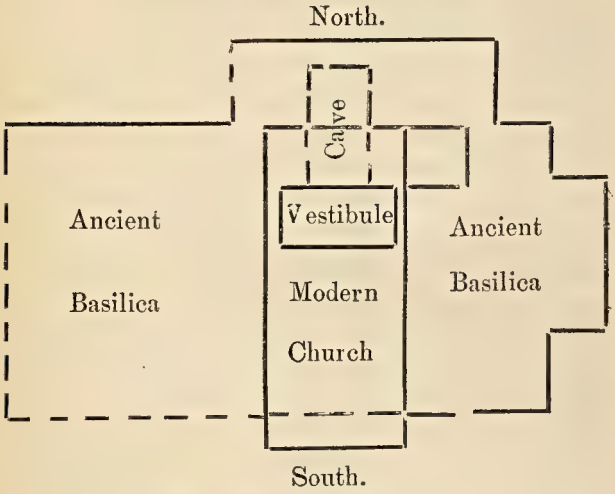
built at Nazareth somewhere about this time—probably by Count Joseph, in consquence of the edict above referred to; and the extensive foundations of an ancient basilica, still shown round the present church, may with all probability be ascribed to this date. (A. D. 330-340). In A. D. 386 we read that St. Paula paid a flying visit to Nazareth the "Nutriculum Domini." In A. D. 570 St. Antoninus of Piacenza visited "the house of St. Mary, a basilica," where some relics of the clothes of Our Lady were said to be preserved. Next comes Arculf, A. D. 670, who describes two separate churches, one of the annunciation, and the other on the spot where had been built the "Nutriculum Domini" or the house where Our Lord had been brought up. Willibald, in A. D. 724, says nothing of the "Nutriculum Domini." He mentions however the spot where the annunciation took place—where, he says, there stands a church which the Christians have often bought off from the Saracens who wanted to destroy it. In 1102 Sewolf, visiting Nazareth, found the town entirely laid waste and overthrown by the Saracens; but (he adds) the place of the annunciation is indicated by a very noble monastery. Whether the basilica was still standing he does not say. He also mentions a clear spring near to the town and adorned with marble.

By this time the Crusaders were in Palestine, and Nazareth was soon constituted an episcopal see. The Russian Abbot Daniel, arriving about A. D. 1113, found a rich Latin bishop there. He states that the holy place of the annunciation had been laid waste, but that the Franks had restored the buildings with the greatest care, and that now over the grotto stands a church consecrated to the annunciation. A great and lofty church with three altars (he says) stands in the midst, with an underground grotto in which the B. Virgin lived with Christ. It is small, and

deep, with two entrances, etc. It was regarded as the place of the annunciation, as well as the house of Joseph, for it was here that *all* took place. And over this grotto is the church of the annunciation built, etc. Thus the site of the annunciation and of the "Nutriculum Domini" (which Arculf has placed separately) are identified and placed both in an underground grotto (cf. Arculf's underground arches and caverns). Another pilgrim (Belardus, 1120) and an anonymous Pilgrims' Guide dated 1231, also mention only one place, assigning the annunciation to a crypt or grotto in the rock. On the other hand Phocus (1177) agrees with Arculf. He mentions two churches, in one of which the annunciation took place. There was a grotto in both; and in the grotto of the house of St. Joseph he finds the places where Our Lord and Our Lady used to sit, etc. It seems that in 1263 the church of the annunciation was pulled down by order of the Sultan of Cairo; and a letter of Pope Urban IV. to St. Louis says that it was totally destroyed and levelled to the ground. Nevertheless the grotto or cave still remained intact; and according to Burchard (A. D. 1283) the three altars still survived the devastation. In 1292 the Dominican Ricoldus also finds the church totally destroyed, so that nothing of the former buildings remained: but the *cell* of the annunciation was still to be seen; and two altars—on both of which he said Mass. From this date onwards the evidence for the grotto continues with practical unanimity. The present church was built only in the 17th or 18th century; and it stands over a grotto which is certainly identical with that mentioned by all travellers commencing from the Abbot Daniel in the year 1113—though no mention of it occurs before that date. Secondly, it partly covers the ruins of an older and larger church, presumably that which was built in the 4th

century and totally destroyed somewhere between 1100 and 1263. The sites of the annunciation and of the hidden life are now pointed out in the rock-cut cave or its vestibule, in which three altars are even now to be found, together with masonry work and Greek mosaics probably dating from the 4th century (Meistermann p. 392).

CHURCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION.



VALUE OF THE TRADITION.

Taking the tradition as it is, the question is whether any reliance can be placed upon it or not. Considering the exclusion of all Christians from Galilee for the first three hundred years, it would seem extremely unlikely that any remembrance of the spot, or of any building standing upon it, would have been preserved —certainly not among the Christians, and almost as certainly not among the Jews. When in the fourth

century the Christians at last found an entrance, it is difficult to imagine how they could have really identified the spot ; or, if they had done so, it is strange that no stir should have been made over it either then, or for 1,000 years later. Then when a church had been built, nothing is more natural—it has occurred in many other cases than for the idea to grow up, without adequate foundation, that it marked the one holy place which Christian pilgrims would be most anxious to find there—especially if the church itself was called the "Church of the Annunciation." Finally, the church happening to have a cave under its foundations, what more natural, when the building was itself destroyed, than to attach its sacred associations to this cave as the only object which had survived. Such is the argument of doubt ; and one must confess that the evidence we possess affords little ground for any direct refutation of it.

LORETO AND NAZARETH.

"But is it not true (it might be pleaded) that in the year 1291 a chapel miraculously made its appearance in Dalmatia and then at Loreto in Italy, with a revelation stating that it was nothing other than the original building in which the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us? And is it not a fact that an embassy was sent to Nazareth to verify the facts, and on measuring the foundation, found them to correspond, etc., etc. If this be the case surely it will set the question at rest. We answer :—If the translation to Loreto were an authenticated fact it would certainly furnish a strong reflex argument in favour of the authenticity of the tradition at Nazareth. But unfortunately, judging from the recent literature on the subject, the case for Loreto is, to say the least, as problematical as that for the site at Nazareth.

Until quite recently, critical repudiations of the Loreto legend were confined to works written for erudite

circles. The issue of Canon Chevalier's book (*Notre Dame de Lorette.* Picard. 1906) has, however, given the topic a wider circulation; so much so that the Catholic papers and magazines have been full of it. Besides an article by Father Taunton in the *Fortnightly Review* for October 1906, the *Tablet* of October 27th and following issued a series of articles from the pen of Mr. Edmund Bishop. The *Catholic World* (American) had already openly discussed the matter in November 1905, drawing for its materials on the *Rassagna Nationale* and the *Revue du Clergé Francais.* The theme has also been frequently pursued in the columns of the *Catholic Fortnightly Review*; while the book of Canon Chevalier has been noticed favourably, and its general contention (we think) accepted, by the *Revue Benedictine,* the *Revue Augustinienne,* the *Analecta Bollandiana* and the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*—so much so that, "as far as scientific authority is concerned (thinks the *New York Review*) the question may be considered as settled." Besides this, allusions to the subject constantly appear in the current press, so as to bring the matter before the notice of all. As the book of Canon Chevalier claims to demolish the legend as unhistorical, efforts are, we believe, being made to work up the subject anew from the other side.

Being a pure question of historical fact on which nothing of faith or morals depends, the belief in Loreto is one which must stand or fall according to the evidence for or against it. Although this was always acknowledged on all sides, there was once a time when the old belief was so firmly in possession that to throw doubt upon it almost seemed to savour of impiety. By this time, however, the "shock stage" seems to have passed away, and given place to a spirit of calm research. "Let the matter be thoroughly investigated. Let both sides of the case be fully worked out and

weighed. All we want is the truth. If the Loreto tradition is unhistorical, the sooner we can recognise it the better ; if a fact, it has nothing to lose but everything to gain by undergoing the ordeal of criticism." Such seems to be the attitude in which the question is now being viewed ; and in consequence, it is gratifying to think that much light and little heat is likely to be engendered by the controversy.

OUTLINES OF THE CASE.

Without going into the question in detail, or venturing to form a categorical judgment on its merits, it will suffice for our subject merely to indicate the main lines on which the discussion runs. The case for or against the authenticity of the House of Loreto can be divided into two parts—the evidence of Nazareth, and the evidence of Italy. The Nazareth evidence is devoid of all ascertainable allusion to any original house existing there at any time, and furnishes no positive indication of any building suddenly disappearing from Nazareth at the time of the alleged transfer. The Holy House is stated to have arrived in Dalmatia in 1291 and to have settled at Loreto in 1294. But according to the Nazareth testimony, all buildings at Nazareth had been destroyed long before this time, and the scene of the annunciation was shown in a grotto in the rock which alone remained. This is acknowledged by Brother Lievin in his official Guide to the Holy Places (English Ed. p. 443). To solve the difficulty, he supposes that the Holy House must have been removed from Nazareth at some earlier date, possibly before 1099. As this means 192 years before the shrine showed itself in Dalmatia, he falls back on the suggestion that "God is not obliged, when he removes an object, to place it elsewhere on earth immediately." This, however true, is hardly convincing. However, there does not seem to be any need to resort to this somewhat far-fetched explanation. One

of the expedients used by the adversaries of the tradition is to show that the story of the transfer in 1291 cannot be historical, because a famous church of Our Lady already existed at Loreto as early as the year 1097. Now it is certainly difficult to find at Nazareth a place for the transfer later than the year 1100, but comparatively easy (negatively at least) to find a place for it before this date. If the votaries of the tradition are willing to give up the date 1291, and to assume that the transfer really took place earlier—say before the year 1099—they will be in a fair way not only to "knock the bottom" out of this particular argument, but also to evade these difficulties which the Nazareth evidence presents against the transfer having taken place at the time alleged.

We next turn to the Italian side of the question. Besides showing the existence of a church of Our Lady frequented by pilgrims nearly 200 years before the alleged translation took place, and identifying it with the church which existed there at and after the alleged translation, the critics bring reasons for holding that nothing was heard of the Holy House or of its transfer until 1525; that is to say, 428 years after the church had existed in Loreto, and 234 years after its alleged translation. The legend, the details of which break down piecemeal under critical examination, reveals, they say, a romance gradually developed, and only slowly gaining acceptance as time went on—adding the testimonies of those who, though excellent Catholics, knew of the legend only to deny its truth, etc. How this line of argument will be met we have no means of conjecturing. It seems that a certain fresco has been discovered which is claimed to belong to a time very nearly corresponding to the date of the transfer, and to represent the miracle in the act of taking place. Those on the other side either dispute the date, or take

the picture as referring to the Portiuncula, and not to Loreto at all, etc., etc. The defenders of the tradition must be allowed time to place the results of their own labours before the world ; and meanwhile we must all be content to wait.

These few points have been summarised from the newspapers and magazines already referred to, which those especially interested in the question can get and read for themselves.

[THE END.]

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